PUBLIC

CHARACTERS

255

OF

1801-1802.

"—————I wish no other herald,
"No other speaker of my *living actions*,
"To keep mine honour from corruption,
"But such an honest chronicler.—————

HEN. VIII. Act 4, Sc. 2.

TO BE CONTINUED ANNUALLY.

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1801.

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PREFACE.

UNDER the title of "Public Characters," to convey such an idea of the eminent or remarkable men among us, as might satisfy curiosity without gratifying malevolence, was the fair and honest object that originally gave birth to this work.

The first volume was published in 1798, and an annual one has since made its appearance, in a regular and uninterrupted series. As to the question of merit, it would be highly indecorous in the Editors even to express a hint; it is no more than justice however to remark, that if public approbation can be inferred either from the eagerness with which this work has been perused, or the demand for new editions, its reception can no longer be considered as equivocal.

In the present volume will be found names of acknowledged celebrity: of these, a few have lately presided in high and important official stations, and one is still at the head of public affairs. Some of them have fought the battles of their country: others have adorned it by cultivating the arts of peace.

London, October 10, 1801.

THE TANJORE ... MAHAL.

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The Prince de Bouillon
The Duke of Marlborough
The Lord-Juſtice-Clerk of Scotland.

Critical Observations on the former Volumes of this Work.

" This work excites much curiosity because it professedly treats of living characters, and we infer that its information is impartial and correct. It is but justice to own that we have been altogether amused by the publication." *British Critic.*

" A spirit of candour and moderation evidently pervades the present publication. Some of the characters are drawn with great discrimination, and display an acuteness of powers, and a felicity of expression, not to be found in the fleeting productions of the day. In short, the work abounds in moral and critical observations that evince correctness of judgment, and delicacy of tafte." *London Review.*

" This work discovers respectable *traits* of discrimination, and has the merit of being uncontaminated by the virulence of party spirit." *Critical Review.*

" The memoirs contained in these volumes are full and accurate in point of information; judicious in their literary and critical strictures; and exhibit well drawn and appropriate characters of their respective subjects. They are not written under the uniform influence of any particular theological or political bias. *New Annual Register.*

PUBLIC CHARACTERS,

OF 1801-2.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY ADDINGTON,

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, &C.

A SUDDEN and unexpected elevation naturally attracts the notice and even the wonder of mankind. We are eager to ask what are the merits, the talents, and the qualifications that lead to unexampled success? We are desirous of being acquainted with the road that conducts her favourite votary to the shrine of Fortune; and we pant with expectation to become acquainted with the life, the education, the friendships, and the pursuits of such a man, hoping from these to deduce the motives by which his conduct has been actuated, and the secret by which he has been enabled to attain the summit of ambition.

Mr. Addington is the son of a physician of some eminence, who died about eleven years since *, after

* Dr. Addington died March 21, 1790. He was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, where he took the degrees of M. A. May 13, 1740, B. M. February 5, 1740-41, and D. M. January 24, 1744. He was admitted of the College of Physicians in London 1756, wrote a pamphlet on the Scurvy, and another concerning a negotiation with Lord Bute.

having practised with equal celebrity and success. That gentleman, during the whole of his life, appears to have been a great politician *, and to have studied, with equal attention, the constitution of a patient, and the constitution of the state.

Dr. Addington started originally at Reading, where he kept a private madhouse, and married a Miss Hiley, the daughter of an eminent schoolmaster † of that place, with whom he obtained a fortune of 15,000l. On this he came to London, set up an equipage, and suddenly attained great practice, he and the late Dr. Heberden being then the two physicians most in vogue in the capital. Having obtained a considerable addition to his wealth ‡, Dr. A. retired to Berkshire, and spent the remainder of his life there.

Henry Addington, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, was born in or about the year 1756.

* Dr. Addington was sent for by a gentleman whose son was supposed to be at the point of death. While the Doctor was in the sick room, the family assembled below in anxious expectation, and, after a long and painful pause, a near relation of the patient hurried out of the room, to inquire the reason of his delay. On the stairs he found the Physician and Apothecary, who was a *Foxite*, involved in a dispute about the India bill. "Dear Sir," said the young man, labouring with fraternal affection, and angry with the physician, "there is no one in this house denies the transcendent merits of the *heroes of Burton-Pynsent* (alluding to Lord Chatham's family), but my poor brother will, I fear, be dead before you get through the India bill." The medical practitioner felt the hint, went in, and prescribed.—*Anecd. and Biog*. p. 5.

† The Rev. Haviland John Hiley, M. A. of Baliol College, Oxford.

‡ He is said to have retired with 100,000l.

He

He and his brother *, John Hiley, were sent together, at a proper age, to Cheam school, where they remained for some time, under the Rev. Mr. Gilpin †; and it is not a little remarkable, that in all their future pursuits, whether in search of knowledge, in the mazes of politics, or in the career of preferment, they have never been once separated. The two brothers afterwards went to Winchester school, over which Dr. Wharton at that period presided; thence they repaired to Dr. Goodenough's at Ealing; and finally they removed to Oxford, where their father himself had been bred.

In the mean time, the political tenets of Dr. A. had led to a connexion with the family of the late Earl of Chatham, whose friend and physician he was, which in the end produced the aggrandisement of his own.

The Doctor entertained a high opinion of the abilities and integrity of the first Mr. Pitt, who, to an eloquence far more resplendent than that of his younger son, added great practical talents, a scorn of oppression, and a noble pride, which made him spurn at every thing that bore the semblance of corruption.

During the latter part of Lord Chatham's life he lived in great intimacy with that nobleman, and such was the confidence subsisting between them, that,

* This gentleman, so called after his *maternal grandfather*, was left a considerable fortune by a relation while an infant in the cradle.

† Mr. Gilpin entertained a high notion of Mr. Henry Addington's abilities, in consequence of which he very candidly advised his father to finish his education at some great public school.

when a negotiation was opened with the late Earl of Bute respecting his return to power, he acted as the plenipotentiary of the ex-minister *.

It

* "In the very week of this transaction (a negotiation concerning France) an extraordinary affair happened relative to our hero, which afterwards furnished a subject of much disquisition. It was a transaction between the Earl of Bute and Lord Chatham. As the affair is involved in considerable obscurity, I will first simply state the facts, as they appear upon the face of the evidence.

"Sir James Wright, an intimate friend of Lord Bute, and Dr. Addington, an eminent physician, who attended the Earl of Chatham, had repeatedly entertained each other with political conversation, in which the names of their respective patrons were introduced. The frequent recurrency of this theme was, it seems, first animadverted upon by Sir James, or one of his friends; and it was thought proper in consequence to communicate the purport of these conversations to Lord Bute. Thus the circumstance is related in one part of the account, published in Sir James's own name; though elsewhere he seems to say, that the communication was made at the immediate request of Dr. Addington. Lord Bute, in answer, wished the Doctor to be requested to assure Lord Chatham, that "if he should think proper to take an active part in administration, he should have his most hearty concurrence and sincere good wishes." He said, "For his own part, nothing but the most imminent danger to this country should induce him to take a part in the government of it, in conjunction with an able and upright administration." In the mean time, Dr. Addington did not choose to engage in so extraordinary an affair, without having his commission in writing. Sir James accordingly sent him a letter next morning, containing the above sentiments. Dr. Addington says, in his narrative, that Sir James added verbally, that "Lord Bute was willing to engage in such an administration as Secretary of State, and that no objection could be made to Lord Camden, or more than one of Lord Chatham's friends." This addition is peremptorily denied

by

It may be naturally supposed that this of course led to an intimacy between their families, and we accordingly find that the young Pitts and the young Addingtons early in life cultivated a friendship with each other, which received a fresh increase when Mr. William Pitt became a member of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and Mr. Henry Addington entered his name as a student, and *eat commons* at the same hall.

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by Sir James, who ascribes it to Dr. Addington's confounding the hypothetical conversation that preceded the negotiation with the negotiation itself.

"The answer Lord Chatham dictated to Sir James's letter, which is very full and explicit, I shall beg leave to add. "Lord Chatham heard, with particular satisfaction, the favourable sentiments, on this subject, of the noble Lord with whom you have talked with regard to the impending ruin of the kingdom. He fears all hope is precluded: but adds, that zeal, duty, and obedience, may outlive hope; that, if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new counsels and new counsellors, without further loss of time; a real change, from a sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless." In answer to Dr. Addington's verbal communication, which was not made till after writing the above note, Lord Chatham affirmed, that "it was impossible for him to serve the King and country with either Lord Bute or Lord North;" and he desired Dr. Addington, if any one asked about it, "to bear witness that he said so."

The expression, "real change," in the note, struck, it seems, both Sir James and his patron, as pointing at that nobleman. An answer was accordingly immediately returned, in which Lord Bute disclaimed having seen the King for many years, or known any thing of public affairs but from common conversation or the newspapers. At the same time Sir James informed Dr. Addington, that his stay in town could be of no service.—*The History of the Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, p. 263.

Mr. Addington, who was thus destined for the bar, might in time have obtained a silk gown, and perhaps risen to the dignity of a Welch judge; but he soon found that a *wig of another kind* suited his head far better than that of the president of a provincial judicature: nor was he mistaken in his hopes. The brilliant career of his young friend already pointed to the first offices of the state, and Mr. Addington was *drawn up* to power and consequence in the vortex of his successful ambition.

We soon find him occupying a seat in parliament, declaiming against Mr. Fox's coalition with Lord North, opposing the India bill of that gentleman, and smoothing his friend's way, by an oily eloquence rather than a transcendent oratory, to the summit of power *. No sooner was this attained on the part of Mr. Pitt, than Mr. Addington began to taste *those crumbs of comfort*, in the shape of official emoluments, which he is now enabled so plentifully to bestow †: but a more lucrative situation awaited him,

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* The Addingtons exerted themselves in a very particular manner during the King's illness. At that critical moment the opinion of Dr. Addington, who had paid much attention to *cases of insanity*, was of great weight. When examined before the House of Lords, he drew a favourable inference from his Majesty's "not having had any previous melancholy;" and held forth the prospect of speedy convalescence. In short, his hopes, afterwards so happily realised, are supposed to have had no common influence over the *political faith* of Mr. Pitt, and to have tended not a little to give stability to his tottering power.

† The Recordership of Devizes, in Wiltshire, secured a seat for that borough in the House of Commons, while, at the same time, he became a Lord of Trade and Plantations, &c.

which

which, after a warm struggle, he obtained in 1789, in a manner highly honourable to himself.

Mr. now Lord Grenville, was at this period Speaker of the House of Commons; and it was deemed necessary that he should be elevated to one of the highest departments in the state. The friends of Mr. Addington immediately pointed him out as a proper person to succeed him. The Marquis of Graham accordingly, on Monday July 8, 1789, after a high eulogium on his talents, moved "that he should take the chair." Sir Gilbert Elliot was proposed by Mr. Welbore Ellis, now Lord Mendip, and on the division the numbers appeared, for Mr. Addington 215, for Sir Gilbert Elliot 142—majority 73. Mr. Addington accordingly assumed the *insignia* of office; but, when he addressed the King on the occasion, he was pleased to observe, with becoming modesty, "that he felt himself unequal to the arduous task which the partiality of that house had imposed upon him, and hoped his Majesty would be pleased, by his *royal disapprobation* of their present choice, to afford his faithful Commons an opportunity of electing a person better qualified to discharge the duties of an office so important."

On the convocation of a new Parliament, a few months after, Mr. Addington was unanimously re-elected, and the subject of the impeachment soon afforded a very apposite opportunity for the exercise of his talents and industry, more especially when the question was agitated, whether the im-

peachment of Warren Hastings, Esq. subsisted subsequent to the dissolution of Parliament?

Mr. Speaker, on this occasion, rose to state to the Committee the result of the best research into precedents that he had been able to make, and this was decidedly in favour of the impeachment remaining *in statu quo*. He traced the growth and developement of the principle of impeachment from the reign of Edward IV. and shewed clearly, that, as far as regarded the effect of a dissolution, it was precisely the same for impeachments as for writs of error and appeal. He produced various instances of writs of error not abating prior to 1673, and contended that the report of the Lords' Committee, and the resolution of the Lords at that time, which had remained unquestioned ever since, were founded on precedents, and what were clearly understood to be the practice of Parliament; that the report and resolution of 1678, respecting the continuance of an impeachment after a dissolution, was founded on that of 1673, because both impeachments and writs of error were so strictly connected in principle, that it was impossible to make a distinction between them; that the resolution of 1673 could not have been adopted merely as a colourable foundation for the resolution of 1678, because, when the former was passed, it was impossible that the case to which the latter applied could have been foreseen; and that, when Lord Danby applied to the Court of King's Bench to be bailed after the dissolution of Parliament,

ment, the court recognised the doctrine, that the impeachment did not fall to the ground in consequence of the dissolution, as the known and established law of Parliament. On the precedents of 1685, by which this resolution, as far as respected impeachments, was reversed, he observed, that it was of no authority, the Commons having been corruptly chosen, and wholly devoted to the court; the principal evidence for the prosecution, Titus Oates, convicted of perjury, and consequently incompetent; and the resolution itself passed without examination of precedents, not generally with express limitation to the particular case.

In like manner Mr. Addington shewed, from the cases of Lords Salisbury and Peterborough, in 1690, that it was then understood to be the law of Parliament, that impeachments do not abate by a dissolution, and that, after much delay and management, they were at last discharged by a resolution strictly applicable to their particular case, and in no respect affecting the general question. The same argument he deduced from the case of Lord Oxford in 1717, as far as that case went. The House, he remarked, would do well to consider how far their undoubted right might be affected by the doubt which appointing a committee to search for precedents would imply. Let the friends of Mr. Hastings remember, that his case was unconnected with the general question; that if it were proper for the House to proceed against him, the renewal of the impeachment would be a greater hardship than to take it up where

it

it now stood, and that at all events the length of the proof, or the magnitude of the crime, could never, with any shadow of decency, be suffered to protect the criminal. He recommended to the House not to put it in the power of the Crown to defeat an impeachment by a dissolution, or of the Lords to defeat it by delay, which, as they might choose on what and how many days they would sit each session of Parliament, they might be able to do were a dissolution not to do it; and he exhorted them to adopt a line that would acquire honour to themselves, and render important service to posterity, by making "assurance doubly sure" on the only doubt that had ever arisen among the Commons respecting their own privilege.

His opinion on this subject, of which we have here given an outline, must be allowed by all impartial men to be constitutional: fraught on one hand with notions highly salutary in respect to public justice, and on the other pregnant with principles calculated to fortify the power and confirm the authority of the *Third Estate*, in respect to the exercise of its rights.

Nor did Mr. A. allow any opportunity to escape for maintaining the franchises of the House over which he presided; for, when the Peers, in May 1791, thought proper to make a trifling alteration in a bill*, by which they assumed the *initiative* respecting

* The bill in question was intended to amend the 6th of Anne, respecting the reward to be given on the conviction of felons. The Lords had thought proper, on this occasion, to diminish the reward.

ing money, he stated the circumstance to the House, and, after quoting a precedent, which he caused to be read from the Journals of the 8th of March 1719, by which it appeared that a similar bill, on being sent from the Lords, had been rejected, *because it affected the revenue*, the Commons followed his advice, and refused to proceed with the present.

But the late Speaker did not confine himself to what might be termed his *official duties*. He was always an active and efficient member when the House sat in a committee, and a chairman regulated the debates. Few subjects of great national importance but were canvassed by him on those occasions, and he must be allowed, in general, to have added great weight and importance to whatever side he adopted.

Uniformly acting with Mr. Pitt in all grand political questions, it is greatly to be regretted that he should have opposed that gentleman only, when a question of humanity respecting a miserable portion of the human race was agitated, and have taken part with Mr. Dundas, whose *equivocal enmity* to the slave trade has occasioned its continuance, notwithstanding the Commons of England seem to have been pledged for an abolition.

It is true that Mr. A. termed this traffic "a crime, which he had never heard mentioned without feeling the utmost abhorrence and indignation;" but it is equally true, that he was at the same time feelingly alive to the pecuniary interests of the planters and mortgagees, who, according to his own principles, must have profited by this "crime." Neither is the

reasoning

reasoning to be tolerated, that, "if relinquished by us, it might be carried on in a manner more repugnant to the interests of humanity," as, if this be really an abominable traffic, the guilt and shame ought instantly to be removed.

But, in order to decide on Mr. A.'s conduct, the best mode will be to quote his own arguments, premising at the same time, that it is not here meant to convey the least suspicion of his sincerity.

On Monday, April 2, 1792, after two petitions had been presented, one from the city of London, and the other from the livery of London, against the slave trade, Mr. Wilberforce moved *the order of the day*, which was "for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the circumstances of the African slave trade." This being done, and Sir William Dolben having taken the chair, the same gentleman, at the conclusion of a long and elegant speech, moved, "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the trade carried on by British subjects, for the purpose of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, ought to be abolished." Mr. Thornton *, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, &c. were

* In the course of this gentleman's speech he read the following letter from King Naim-bazo, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, complaining that some of his relations had been kidnapped and carried off to the West Indies, where they were at present in a state of slavery: "My subjects, and the subjects of other Kings, have been stolen away by the inhabitants of all nations who visit this coast. Three of my own relations have been taken away by a Captain Coxe, and sold for slaves; for what reason I know

were for an immediate abolition, while Mr. Dundas, General Tarleton, &c. were against it; and, to the surprise of all men, it so occurred, that the premier found himself for the first time in a *minority*.

In the course of the debate Mr. Addington delivered his opinion, the substance of which follows:

"The Speaker said, he had never listened with greater satisfaction in his life to any speech, than to the whole of that just delivered by his right honourable friend (Mr. Dundas), who had relieved him from the utmost pain and anxiety. He declared, that he was one of those alluded to by his right honourable friend, who had preferred a middle path in regard to the abolition of a trade, or rather a crime which he had never heard mentioned without feeling the utmost abhorrence and detestation. Hitherto he had been silent on the subject, because he had felt that he could not go the length of voting with his honourable friend, who had introduced the question of the abolition of the trade into that House; but now he had heard what he could concur in with ease to his mind, and satisfaction to his conscience. He complimented Mr. Whitbread on his eloquent speech, and agreed with him in thinking that the slave trade, however modified, could not be defended, because no argument could justify the selling of one

know not. I never molest the property or person of others. I love the natives of Great Britain—I have borne many insults from them, which have occasioned me to be silent so long——Whether I shall see my relations again I know not, but those who took them will be called to account for their actions one day or another."

man

man for money to the despotism of another man; and tearing him away against his will from his country, his family, and his friends, in order to make him drag out a miserable existence in bondage in a distant country, to which he was an utter stranger. While he turned with disgust from the hateful trade, he saw the necessity of considering the opposite claims, and was also fearful the trade, if relinquished by us, might be carried on in a manner more repugnant to the interests of humanity.

" He thought these opposite interests would be in a great degree reconciled by the scheme of gradual abolition. He suggested, that the imports of slaves into the islands should be limited to ten or twelve years. He contended that negroes, notwithstanding the difference of their colour, ought to be regarded as human creatures. He condemned the slave trade as a measure he had always abhorred. The nervous eloquence of his honourable friend recalled to his memory the observation of a very venerable and eminent judge, now in retirement and in the vale of years (Lord Mansfield), who, when charged with showing too much lenity to a rebel lord, said, that he knew no language which could add guilt to treason. In the same view he knew no language which could add to the horrors of the slave trade; and the proposition now before them would undoubtedly tend to prevent man from preying upon man.

" Mr. Addington said, the present state of the negroes in the West India islands certainly was inadequate

adequate to the necessary supply to do the work of the planters; there was too unequal a comparison between the males and females: he not only therefore considered an immediate abolition of the importation of the African negroes as impolitic, but should think a duty on the importation of male negroes would operate as a bounty on the importation of female slaves, and in a few years the defect would be supplied. Mr. Dundas's proposition, Mr. Addington said, appeared to him to be such as could not be opposed by any rational objection; he agreed with him in the whole of it, one point excepted, viz. the making of those negro children free who were born of slaves. He thought rather, that they should have their freedom after a period of service of ten or fifteen years, to pay their masters for the expence of rearing and educating them. A bounty for such as should rear more children, bearing a proportion to the sexes, payable to such negro fathers, might, he conceived, produce the most salutary effects, and greatly tend to increase the population of the negroes. He declared he did not think his right honourable friend would have submitted his ideas to the House, if he had not meant to state them afterwards in the form of a substantial proposition: he therefore hoped that his honourable friend's motion (Mr. Wilberforce's) would not be adopted, but that his end would be answered by other means *."

Notwith-

* Mr. Fox immediately followed Mr. Addington, and, to adopt the language of one of the reporters, " in a most able and animated

Notwithstanding the eloquent efforts of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox on the other side, which flashed conviction throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, we find Mr. Addington persevering in his opinions. When Mr. Dundas, on Friday April 27, 1792, moved the *order of the day*, which was for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the further means for the abolition of the slave trade, this was granted, and Mr. Beaufoy was called to the chair. The first resolution was then read, viz. " That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it shall not be lawful to import any African negroes into any British colonies or plantations in ships owned or navigated by British subjects, at any time after the 1st of January 1800." After Mr. Hobart and Lord Mornington had delivered their opinions, the Speaker rose, and began by observing, that " having, in a late debate on the subject, voted that the slave trade ought to be *gradually abolished*, he thought it his duty to state to the Committee the ideas he entertained on the mode of carrying that resolution into effect.

" The interval between the resolution, that the

animated speech, reprobated the suggestions of Mr. Dundas and Mr. Addington, pronouncing what had fallen from them to be the most formidable and alarming opposition that had yet been offered to the important question of the abolition of the slave trade. He arose, therefore, with an anxious desire to relieve the painful sensations of his mind, and to do away the deceptions and delusions that were endeavoured, not intentionally he believed, to be set before the eyes of the public, to misguide and mislead their judgment, and the judgment of that House," &c.

trade be abolished, and the period at which the abolition would take place, he admitted to be a most dreadful interval. He had, Mr. Addington declared, stated the trade to be abandoned; and he begged to remind the Committee, and he implored them to consider the circumstance, that he never had mentioned one word as to the justice of the trade; but he had merely noticed the justice of those claims that might be made by the persons who would be affected by its abolition. If the interests of the planters were abandoned, the abolition of the slave trade, he was convinced, would never be effected. How was it possible, he asked, when the means of population were taken away, to supply the deficiency? How could they fill the chasm that they created? What he had stated, Mr. Addington declared, was the result of his real sentiments, of his real opinion. In certain conditions of society there were, he observed, combinations of justice, of policy, of humanity, and of interest, that rendered it almost impossible to look to the *ultimatum*, or he should rather say the *maximum*, of one, without counteracting that of the other; the question was not, he said, between *blood and gold*, nor between what now actually was, and what might be hereafter, but it was whether an *immediate* or a *gradual abolition* would best effect the object the Committee had in view: for his part, he thought that object too would be most safely and certainly attained, by protracting the period of abolition; and therefore he wished

796 were the year proposed, instead of that contained in the amendment.

"On a former night his right honourable friend had argued from calculations, that, for three or four years past, the old islands had no occasion for further importation; but their not importing in that time might be accounted for from being unfortunate in their crops (as was the fact), and the increased price of negroes. It could not be argued, that they had no want of negroes, from their inability to purchase. Neither could the statements of death be relied on; for it might be supposed that the planters represented the mortality as less than it really was, from the desire of obviating the charges of cruelty brought against them.

"Mr. Addington took notice of the West India and ceded islands, and used a variety of arguments to maintain his proposition, and urged, in particular, the danger liable to the mortgagees and others concerned in those islands. He declared that he perfectly agreed with Mr. Burke's opinion, as to the good effect that must arise from the public places of worship, and he strongly recommended that mode of civilization as one of the most efficacious and certain methods to reform the negroes.

"From these considerations he should oppose the present motion, but, if the period were extended to the 1st of January 1796, and the trade left open from that time, and free from all restriction, he should acquiesce in it.

"For

"For the sake of Africa itself, he should also wish the abolition to be *gradual*, that the natives of that country might not lose all traffic, until they became a little more civilized, and fit for commerce of another kind."

While Mr. Addington was distinguishing himself in the Speaker's chair, by the impartiality with which he regulated the debates, and the order and decorum with which he conducted the public business, an event no less sudden than extraordinary occurred, which produced a very material change in his situation. The event to which we now allude, was the resignation of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, a measure of a very ambiguous nature, and which has never yet been sufficiently explained. While all men were anxious to know who was to be the new minister, the public learned, with some degree of surprise, that Mr. Addington had been sent for by the King, and held daily conferences with his Majesty. This business was at first conducted with some degree of mystery, one of the royal family * having lent his equipage, in order, if possible, to conceal the negotiation from the prying eye of curiosity. But this was of no avail, for it was soon rumoured abroad, and was not upon the whole unfavourably received, as Mr. Pitt's administration had of late years been supported by the *fears* rather than the *love* of the people.

The King's second alarming illness for a while pro-

* The Duke of Kent.

tracted the retreat of the then Chancellor of the Exchequer; but, on his Majesty's convalescence, all the necessary arrangements were made, and every thing adjusted seemingly to the entire satisfaction of those who went out, as well as those who came in.

Mr. Addington having thus leaped from the Speaker's Chair to the Treasury Bench, the eyes of the whole nation became fixed upon him. It was hoped that, after a bloody and expensive war, some sincere and decisive measures would be taken in order to produce a peace; and it must be allowed, that the conduct of the new premier, in this instance, has given greater satisfaction, by its openness and candour, than the haughty behaviour of his predecessors.

Mr. Addington, however, by his vindication of the late administration, has in some measure *affiliated* himself to it, and become accountable for its errors and misconduct. The suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act; the feeble cry of a conspiracy; the production of *sealed bags* of papers; the continuance of martial law in Ireland, and of the system of secret imprisonment in England, have perhaps nipped his popularity in the bud, and are thought by many to savour too much of the *old school.* On the other hand, it must be allowed, that he has entered upon office at a time, and in circumstances peculiarly critical. Supported as he is by the royal favour and confidence, Mr. Pitt's power is still considered as paramount, and the *mutes* attached to the person of the

the "heaven-born minister" are thought to wait but for the signal to strangle his political successor.

A young nobleman, related to the late premier, has already termed this "an administration of shreds and patches;" and it has been repeatedly asserted, that a *secret understanding* subsists between the new and the old ministry: but time alone can fully and explicitly develope this matter.

Mr. Addington's first attempt in his financial capacity certainly did not come up to the expectations of the public, and the bill to disqualify the clergy from sitting in the House of Commons would have passed with a far better grace, had it not expressly precluded a man * hostile to his principles, from opposing them in a public character †.

The present premier possesses great influence, in consequence of the excellence of his character, and the high respect he had acquired during the time he

* Mr. J. H. Tooke.

† When the bill in question came before the House of Peers, a *great law lord* said, "he had heard of certain rumours, about the authors of this measure, which he could not credit, more especially as to its being a *matter of expediency*. At the head of government was at present placed a gentleman of great respectability, of known integrity and purity of manners, and of tried wisdom in a situation of great dignity and arduous duty, which he discharged with infinite credit to himself, and great advantage to the public: he would not therefore believe, that such a character would be so prodigal of his reputation as to have consented to squander it away so profusely as to have been the author of this very important and extraordinary bill; he therefore begged their lordships to believe, that he utterly disclaimed all credit to rumours of this kind."

acted as Speaker. His Majesty may be said to evince a *personal* attachment to him, and, if report be true, he has presented him with, and furnished for him, a house in Richmond park, in order to be near him at all times *.

In private life Mr. A. is particularly amiable. He is a sincere friend, an affectionate brother, a kind father, and a tender husband. Possessing an ample income †, and being but little devoted to expence, he cannot be supposed to be instigated by the sordid wish of creating a fortune for himself; and, as his connexions ‡ are all in affluent circumstances, he has no poor relations to provide for out of the public purse. On the other hand, it remains to be proved, whether his abilities entitle him to rank as a first-rate statesman; and a few years—perhaps a few months—will determine, whether the new minister be destined to confer glory or disgrace on the empire; to subvert or to restore the liberties of his country!

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* Until the new mansion be got in order, Mr. Dundas has lent him his villa at Wimbledon.

† He is said to have been left 2000 l. per annum in land, in Berks and Devonshire, at the time of his father's death.

‡ Mr. Hiley Addington, his brother, is in parliament, and, as already hinted, was left a fortune early in life. Of his four sisters, one is married to Dr. Goodenough, a physician at Oxford; another to the late Mr. Sutton, formerly a merchant, who had retired to an estate in Somersetshire; a third to Mr. Hoskins, of North Perrot, in Wiltshire, originally a clothier; and lastly, the youngest, Charlotte, to Mr. Bragge, a barrister, one of the members for Bristol, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and a school-fellow of the minister. He himself is married to a lady of small fortune and great beauty, by whom he has had several children.

SIR

[library stamp]

SIR RICHARD HUGHES, BART.

ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE, &c.

THAT the British navy hath become more formidable at the present, than during any former period of our history, is a truism which all Europe is willing to allow. It will also be acknowledged, with equal readiness, that the naval commanders of this day rival, if they do not surpass, those of any other epoch, and that our Howes, our St. Vincents, and our Nelsons, need not blush when compared with our Blakes, our Boscawens, and our Hawkes.

It must be confessed, however, that great praise attaches itself to the *old school*, and that for cool and considerate valour, indefatigable attention, and persevering vigour, it perhaps stands unrivalled.

A variety of unforeseen events, connected with the French revolution, contributed to the depression of the marine of the new republic, while her armies have attained a pitch of glory, hitherto unexampled in the annals of modern nations. In proportion as her navy decreased, our superiority of course became more decisive: but this was not confined to the number of ships alone; it was equally conspicuous in the sailors who manned, the officers who commanded, and the admirals who led them to victory. Let it not be forgotten, however, that it was under the captains of a former day they were all educated and brought up; that many of the masters

wanted only an opportunity to reap the laurels now worn and won by their scholars; and that those who teach others the road to fame, ought to participate in the *meed* of glory: it was to the Macedonian phalanx formed under Philip, that Alexander was indebted for all his conquests.

Sir Richard Hughes, descended from a series of naval officers, was born at Deptford, in the county of Kent, where part of his patrimonial fortune is situated, in the year 1729. His father, then an officer in the navy, attained the rank of post-captain, and, after serving for many years with great respectablity in that capacity, he was appointed to the honourable and lucrative station of Commissioner of the Dock-yard at Portsmouth. When the present King first visited that grand naval arsenal, his Majesty resided, and was entertained with a magnificence suitable to so high a rank, at his house, and was so well pleased with the conduct and behaviour of this officer, that he created him a Baronet, by patent dated July 17, 1773. Sir Richard enjoyed a long life, and died a Commissioner of the Navy, at the age of seventy-one, in the year 1780.

His son, the subject of the present memoir, was bred at the Academy at Portsmouth, and, besides the usual attainments while there, translated the Spectators into French, a language of which, early in life, he acquired a complete mastery, and has occasionally recourse to at the present day, with all the facility and elegance of a well-bred native.

Young

Young Hughes, while yet a boy, went to sea with his father, in the capacity of midshipman, and, during the war of 1741, was made an officer by Admiral Mathews, then serving in the Mediterranean*; but so young was he at that period, that he was under the necessity of actually shaving his head and wearing a wig, in order to acquire a more manly appearance.

He continued on the same station during the remainder of that war, and was raised to the rank of post-captain in the year 1754 or 1755, after which he successively commanded the Fox and Thames frigates. While on board one of these, he was employed in a secret mission of great importance, which he accomplished to the entire satisfaction of the Board of Admiralty: this was a survey of the river Garonne, which he completed as high as Bourdeaux.

Nor were his services overlooked; for, on the breaking out of the next war, we find Capt. Hughes appointed to the command of the York, a sixty gun ship, with which he assisted at the siege of Pondicherry†, under Sir George Pococke.

Having

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* He was appointed a lieutenant about the year 1744-5.

† The indefatigable industry of the *old school* has already been alluded to, and the following fact will, among many others, serve to prove that its praise is not unmerited. During the blockade a monsoon came on, and did incredible damage to the squadron. So unexpected and severe was this storm, that, although at *gun-fire* in the evening nine sail of English men of war were all riding

Having injured his health by his exertions in a climate unfavourable to English constitutions, no sooner was the place taken than the Admiral, in consideration of his services, sent him home with the welcome dispatches, containing an account of the surrender of that important fortress; on which occasion he was most graciously received, and obtained a handsome gratification.

During the interval of peace, Captain Hughes had the Worcester, a sixty-four gun ship, then stationed at Plymouth; and, on the breaking out of the colonial war, he was appointed to the Centaur, a seventy-four. On quitting the command of this vessel, he was nominated Lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, and Commissioner of the Dock-yard at Hallifax. While there, he was of the most essential advantage to government; for, not choosing to consider his situation as a mere *sinecure*, he rendered an important service to his native country, by causing the woods to be inspected and surveyed; he also obtained masts, spars, and other naval stores, for our dock-yards, on the most advantageous terms; indeed, so meritorious was his conduct considered at home, that, on his return to England, he was honoured with a private audience of the King, and received his Majesty's thanks.

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in safety in the road before Pondicherry, yet by eight o'clock next morning only four of them were in existence: such, however, was the activity and exertion of both officers and men, that in four days the remaining ships were rigged with jury masts, and resumed their station as before.

Captain

Captain Hughes continued in America until he was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral of the Blue *. His first service in that capacity was as Port Admiral at Deal, where he remained only a few months; after this he hoisted his flag on board the Princess Amelia. During the memorable expedition for the relief of Gibraltar, under the late Lord Howe, Admiral (now also become) Sir Richard Hughes was second in command of the rear division of the fleet; and immediately subsequent to the partial action of the 20th of October, 1782, off the coast of Spain, which ended in the retreat of the enemy, he was detached with eight sail of the line to the West Indies, to join Admiral Pigot, who then commanded on that station.

During his passage, when about fifty leagues to the eastward of Barbadoes, Admiral Hughes had the good fortune to fall in with a squadron of the enemy, in consequence of which one of the vessels under his command captured the Solitaire, a French sixty-four gun ship, and retook the Speedy packet †. On the conclusion of the American war, Sir Richard was left in the command of the Leeward island station,

* In 1780.

† The Ruby, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain, afterwards Sir John Collins, was the ship that came up with and engaged the Solitaire; and, after an action of forty-one minutes, the enemy lost her mizen mast, and was compelled to strike.

In consequence of the Admiral's letter, recording this transaction, the commander of the Ruby received the honour of knighthood.

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in consequence of which the task devolved upon him of ceding such islands to the French as had been taken from them during the war: a service for which he was admirably qualified, in consequence of his elegant manners, his polite demeanour, and that critical knowledge of their language, to which we have already alluded.

After remaining three years in the West Indies, he was appointed to the command at Hallifax, where he remained during the same term, and became a Vice Admiral *.

In the course of the present contest, Sir Richard Hughes has risen by seniority to the rank of Admiral of the White †, but has never been employed; he has, however, frequently tendered his services, and is as ready and as able, at this moment, to serve his country, as ever he was at any former period of his life. The family of this veteran officer has in some measure been *devoted* to the naval profession, he himself having served no fewer than fifty-six years, and his father and grandfather one hundred and four: in all, one hundred and sixty—a period of time unequalled perhaps by any other family in the kingdom. In addition to this, it ought not to be forgotten, that he has bred his eldest son also to the sea, and that this gentleman is now a master and commander.

Along with Sir Richard's professional abilities, he

* In 1791.

† His commisson is dated February 14, 1799; he stands next on the list to Samuel Viscount Hood.

unites

unites a taste for the *belles lettres*, seldom acquired by those who have dedicated their lives to the sea-service, and, among other European languages, is particularly conversant in the Italian. He also possesses considerable talents for poetry *, in which he has been imitated by his two sons, and the productions of his muse have been at once gay and serious, satirical and plaintive; in the last of these, an address to his youngest daughter, now no more, does great credit to him both as a poet and a father.

Among many other celebrated men who have served under Admiral Hughes, the names of Lord Nelson and Sir Sidney Smith ought not to be forgotten. The "hero of the Nile" commanded the Boreas, during four years, on the Leeward island station, while Sir Richard's flag was flying there; and when the inhabitants of Ipswich wished to testify their joy for the memorable victory at Aboukir, he and Admiral Reeves were, with becoming propriety, delegated to wait on Lady Nelson, and do the honours of the day.

Sir Richard at present resides at his paternal seat of East Bergholt Lodge, in the county of Suffolk, where he enjoys a small hereditary property, of which he has been accustomed to say, while speaking of the means by which it was attained by his family,

* John Hughes, author of the "Ode on the Peace of Ryswick, 1697;" "The Siege of Damascus;" and also of several papers in the Spectator, Tatler, and Guardian, was of the same family as Sir Richard Hughes.

that

that "there is not a single dirty shilling belonging to it."

Admiral Hughes, about 1760, married the present Lady Hughes, then Miss Sloane, the grand-niece of the celebrated Sir Hans Sloane, and daughter of a wealthy and respectable commoner.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE-JOHN, EARL SPENCER,

VISCOUNT ALTHORPE,

VISCOUNT AND BARON SPENCER, &c.

IT is truly lamentable, in the present age, to behold so many of our young nobles attached to unworthy pursuits. There are indeed several brilliant examples to the contrary; but we too often find the hereditary legislator occupying the most precious moments of his existence—the moments when the FUTURE MAN is to be formed, in occupations that lead to degeneracy, disgrace, and ruin. When we behold our ingenuous youth beginning to associate with gamblers and horse-jockies; when we see them frequenting the race-course at Newmarket, and the subscription-houses in St. James's Street; when we hear of their squandering their inheritance upon strumpets and sharpers, we are not merely in pain for them, but for the honour and independence of our country. The profusion of their early years leads to servility and dependence in their maturer age, and the descendants of that sturdy race, who maintained

maintained their own franchises and those of the people, by curbing the despotism of our former Kings, are naturally led to become the corrupt sycophants of a court, and to cringe, bend, and bow the knee, to the ministerial pageant that is to support and even to feed them.

It is with no common pleasure, then, that the imagination can contemplate, and the eye repose, on such a character as that before us. We behold an opulent nobleman giving up his hours of relaxation to literary pursuits, and occupying the rest of his time in public business. Standing aloof from the vices of the day, he presents an amiable instance of domestic felicity, and the husband, the father, the master, and the landlord, in short, all the relations of social life, shine forth conspicuous, and reflect on, rather than receive a lustre from, nobility!

George-John Spencer, Earl Spencer, Vifcount Althorpe, &c. was born September 1, 1758. His family is ancient, and fome of our genealogists, eager to pay homage to his lineage, have wished to derive it from that Hugh Spenser, Le Spenser, or Le Despenser (for he was known by all these names), who succeeded Piers Gaveston as the favourite of Edward II. and, with his father, experienced an untimely end, in consequence of the vengeance of the exasperated barons *. But it would be a poor compliment,

* "Hugh Despenser, a young man distinguished by his birth, and the exterior accomplishments of person and address, had engaged

pliment to insist on the descent of a worthy and independent nobleman from the minion of one of our most contemptible princes; and we shall leave a matter so trivial in its nature to the grave decision of the College of Arms, contenting ourselves with mentioning the anecdote, and leaving its admission or rejection to the labours of future commentators.

Proceeding therefore from conjecture to certainty, it will not be worth our while to go further back than the beginning of the last century, when John Spencer, grandson of John Duke of Marlborough, married a daughter of Earl Granville, by whom he had

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gaged the affections of Edward, and excited against him the hatred of the barons, whom he affected to despise. As rapacious as he was insolent, he had prevailed on this weak monarch to confer on him a barony, which it was pretended had reverted to the crown; and this transaction, which was a proper subject for a law-suit, created an insurrection in the kingdom. Lancaster, and several other barons, had recourse to arms, and sent a message to Edward, demanding him to banish his favourite, and even the elder Despenser, his father, a man respectable by his wisdom, and worthy of the confidence of the King. Upon the King's refusal, they marched to London, and presented to the Parliament, which was then sitting, an accusation against both the Despensers, &c.

"London revolted from Edward; the provinces followed the example of the capital; and the King, disappointed with regard to the loyalty of his subjects, took to flight. The elder Despenser was delivered up to the enemy by the garrison of Bristol, which he commanded, and was hanged as a malefactor. No respect was paid to the merit of this venerable noble, who had nearly reached the ninetieth year of his age. The younger Despenser, and the Earl of Arundel, perished by a similar fate," &c.

The Abbé Millot's Hist. of Eng. vol. i. p. 201 and 203.

had John, created Viscount Spencer and Baron Spencer by George II. in 1761, and Earl Spencer and Viscount Althorpe by his present Majesty, Nov. 1, 1765. This nobleman's daughter, Georgiana, was married June 6, 1774, to the Duke of Devonshire; and thus, on Lord Spencer's demise in 1783, his only son found himself descended from one, and related to another, of the first Whig families of the kingdom; considerations apparently trivial in themselves, but which, by their silent operation, are productive of the most interesting consequences, both to the individual and the public.

The present Lord Spencer, known until his father's death by the appellation of Lord Althorpe, received the early part of his education from a private tutor within the paternal mansion. It was determined at length, however, that he should derive all the advantages which arise from the rivalry of boys of a similar age. He was accordingly conveyed to Harrow, where he has since sent his own son, the present Lord Althorpe. The old lord, who is represented to have been one of the loftiest noblemen ever seen in this country, determined on what he considered a *suitable establishment*, and a house, servants, and, what was until then unknown at Harrow—a carriage*, were procured for the young nobleman his son. But Lord S.'s conduct, in a matter of far greater conse-

* It may be necessary to observe, that this carriage was used with *hack* horses; notwithstanding this, it was considered at that day as a novel matter, and an innovation on the ancient discipline.

quence, is entitled to more praise. This was the choice of a private tutor; and, when it is mentioned that the late Sir William Jones was that tutor, no one will be disposed to doubt his lordship's discrimination, and his son's good fortune, in being educated under a man so able in point of learning, so amiable in regard to his manners, and so correct in respect to morals. Unfortunately, however, the avocations of this gentleman would not permit him to remain long at Harrow; and, on his retiring, Lord Althorpe removed to the house of Dr. Heath, the head master, where he resided as a boarder, and was also left under the Doctor's immediate tuition as a private pupil.

When his education was finished at Harrow, Lord A. was removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which Dr. Hinchliffe, the late bishop of Peterborough, was then master. Here we believe his lordship took a degree; and it may not be amiss to mention in this place, that, although it was once remarked by a great mathematician, "that there was no royal road to geometry," yet it is well known to all those who are acquainted with the lax discipline of our universities, that "there is a *noble* road to a degree," and that this is a far shorter cut than what is taken by a commoner. This circumstance is only mentioned here by the bye, in order to be reprobated as a manifest partiality and abuse, highly derogatory to the cradle of literature, and greatly disadvantageous to the precocious youths, who are at once the objects and the victims of so obnoxious a practice.

practice. These remarks, however just they may be in other respects, do not apply to his lordship, who left Cambridge with the reputation of being a modest young man and a good scholar. Soon after this he made the grand tour, and on his return from his travels was returned a member for an English county*; but neither in the House of Commons, nor in the House of Peers, has he accustomed himself to indulge in long speeches.

Happily for Lord Althorpe, he did not give in to the dissipation of the times, and it was this circumstance, perhaps, that induced him to make an early marriage. It was also peculiarly fortunate for his lordship that his choice was irrevocably fixed on one of the most amiable young women of the age, and he accordingly became united, in 1781, to Lavinia, the daughter of the Earl of Lucan, of the kingdom of Ireland, by whom he has had three sons and one daughter.

Two years after he ſucceeded his father in title and estates, and on this occasion not only obtained a seat on the Earl's bench, but acceded to a noble and extensive patrimony.

From what has been hinted at before, the principles evinced by Lord Spencer may be readily surmised. Descended from a Whig family, and educated

* Lord Althorpe joined the noble band of Whig patriots, who put an end to the administration of Lord North and the American war, and on this occasion was nominated a lord of the Treasury.

in Whig principles, he was of course a Whig in the best sense of the word. He did not sit in the Upper House until the American contest was decided, but there can be no manner of doubt whatever that he would have both spoken and acted against the administration of that day. He indeed most cordially co-operated with their successors, who had deposed them from power, although they did not, for their own sake, disarm that influence which afterwards proved so fatal to their country. Lord S., however, did not speak much or often, being content with a pretty constant attendance; but he was decided in his principles, and all those who cultivated a love of liberty in this country naturally looked up to him, during many years, as one of its firmest supporters.

A memorable event however occurred, that dissevered, perhaps for ever, that band of orators, patriots, and statesmen, who seemed to have sworn eternal hatred to despotism on the altar of their country's welfare. The event here alluded to is the French revolution, which produced a fatal schism among the Whigs, and enabled the late administration not only to declare war against France, but also to erect barracks throughout the kingdom without the previous sanction of the legislature—to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* act without the direct proof of a flagrant conspiracy on one hand, or the immediate danger of an invasion on the other—and, what is still worse, to introduce the practice of *secret imprisonment*, one of the worst grievances under the Gallic

monarchy,

monarchy, whose practice in this point we had ever been taught to consider with abhorrence *.

It

* It was during the debate on the King's Proclamation, Tuesday, May 31, 1792, that the *Whig Lords* in the House of Peers exhibited some symptoms of *political approximation* with the ministers of the crown. The Marquis of Abercorn, on this occasion, moved the address to his Majesty, and his speech was rendered more memorable by the assertion, that "the people of this country were without grievance or oppression; that they neither felt, nor had reason to feel, any distress; that there was not one man at present unprotected; nor did he believe there was one who need be unemployed."

The Prince of Wales, who had usually been considered as hostile to the administration of that day, "considered the present proclamation as an interference of government highly necessary to the preservation of order, and the security of our most admirable constitution. Educated," continues his Royal Highness, "as I have been in its principles—conceiving it as I do, to be the most sacred bequest from our ancestors, I hold it a duty incumbent upon myself, and every noble lord, to come forward and support the proper measures for its defence. The matter at issue is, in fact, whether the constitution is, or is not, to be maintained; whether the wild ideas of *theory* are to conquer the wholesome maxims of established *practice*; and whether those laws, under which we had flourished for such a series of years, were to be subverted by a *Reform* unsanctioned by the people." The Prince ended by saying, "I exist by the love, the friendship, and the benevolence of the people; their cause I will never forsake so long as I live; and I give my most hearty assent to the motion for concurring in this wise and salutary address."

The Duke of Richmond defended his conduct from the charge of inconsistency, so far as the cause of reform was concerned; but the reform now intended to be produced "was founded in discontent and dissatisfaction."

The Duke of Portland said, "that he must always feel hurt on

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It would be highly unjust to insinuate that Lord S. was actuated by base motives. He indeed accepted of a high and responsible situation—that of First Lord of the Admiralty—and apologised perhaps to himself for acting with Mr. Pitt, in the same manner Admiral Blake was accustomed to do while serving under Cromwell; that gallant seaman being used to say, that his sole motive for retaining the command under the usurper was, "to prevent foreigners from fooling us."

He entered upon the duties of this office with many peculiar advantages. In the first place he pos-

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any occasion, *when he found himself obliged to differ from those whom he generally had the happiness and honour to act with*, and with whom, on account of their great talents and many virtues in public and private life, he trusted he should long continue to be connected in bonds of the strictest harmony and friendship. The proclamation had his most unlimited approbation, and the address should have his most decided and unequivocal support. He did not conceive that the object of Ministry, in advising the proclamation, was to separate their opponents, as had been conjectured; he conceived their object was *to suppress the circulation of those wicked, seditious, and inflammatory publications*, with which the press every day teemed, and which were so industriously disseminated, with an evident intention of *subverting all regular government*, and introducing a system of the wildest anarchy, under the name of the equal rights of man."

Earl Spencer followed the noble duke in the same strain. "He thought the proclamation a necessary measure; and, being a professed admirer of the constitution, considered every attempt to innovate upon it as dangerous, for he was sure that no constitution could be framed so well calculated to preserve to us that happiness, and those inestimable blessings, which we at present enjoy."

sessed

sessed a high character for honour, joined to an unblemished reputation, in either public or private life. In the next, the navy of Great Britain had not obtained that *acmè* of reputation of which it can now boast; and in the third, he was lucky enough to succeed a nobleman, who, whatever his merits might be, did not possess any great share of popularity in the department over which he presided.

His lordship, on the other hand, to a knowledge of *naval tactics**, at least as great as could be boasted of by his precursor, added much personal exertion, in which the other was said to have been deficient. An audience might at all times be procured; representations were regularly attended to; answers were punctually returned to applicants; and few or no commanders of eminent merit were allowed to remain either unemployed or unrewarded. Nor was this all. The officers of the dock-yards were required to give a more regular as well as a more punctual account of their operations than they had hitherto been accustomed to, and so particular was the then First Lord of the Admiralty, that, when only a few store ships were fitting out at Deptford,

* The fact is, or at least is said to be with a very great share of probability, that a First Lord of the Admiralty, who may happen not to be a nautical man, finds it necessary to adopt one of the other Lords Commissioners, who has derived experience from long professional services, as his *immediate adviser*, in order to supply any deficiency of practical knowledge. It may however be necessary to add, that this board has always been better regulated than any other department of the state.

he has been known, accompanied by a single servant, to ride down from town so early in the morning, that he has been on the spot before the workmen had commenced their operations. It has indeed been whispered, that under his administration influence sometimes prevailed over merit in the conferring of favours, and this perhaps, in a few instances might have been the case; but we are confident that if so, the solicitations of his coadjutors, or the intervention of the *higher powers*, could alone have led him to preferences of which he did not approve.

His lordship's administration was not incommensurate with the just hopes and expectations of the people. No epoch in our naval history has been more brilliant. It was during this period that Lord St. Vincent overcame the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line; that Lord Duncan conquered the Dutch squadron under Admiral de Winter; and that Lord Nelson achieved the memorable victory over the French at Aboukir:—three naval conquests unrivalled, in point of consequence, of glory, and of reputation, by any equal number in our annals.

The retreat of Mr. Pitt from the helm was a signal for the dissolution of the late administration. The *private* motives which induced that gentleman to take this step are still of a mysterious nature, and such as have not been hitherto sufficiently developed: in respect to the *ostensible* ones, they have neither

neither justified him in the eyes of his friends nor of his opponents.

It cannot be supposed that Lord Spencer was allured to follow this example by any particular attachment either to the person or principles of the Ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer: it must therefore be considered as a mere *point of honour* on the part of his lordship, his delicacy not permitting him to remain in office after those with whom he condescended to act had thought proper to abandon the management of public affairs. Since this period he has spent his time partly at Wimbledon Park, and partly in a journey to Wales, whence he has lately returned with his son.

It may be now necessary to consider Earl Spencer in another point of view. He devotes much of his time to literary avocations; and it was considered not only as a relaxation, but even as the highest gratification, to his lordship, after dispatching the multifarious business incident to his late important office, to dedicate as much of his leisure as possible to reading. But this is not all; for he may be considered not only as an *amateur* but an *author*, having evinced a prevalent taste for compiling bibliographical notices, and displayed much critical acumen in exhibiting not only the various readings, but the particular emendations, of the best editions of the ancient Greek, Latin, and Italian classics.

In addition to this, be it remembered to his praise, that, like the members of the illustrious house of MEDICIS, he takes great delight in permitting his books

to be exhibited to learned men, both foreigners and English, and is at all times disposed to converse in the most familiar manner when he happens to meet with them.

His lordship possesses two libraries, each of them valuable in its kind. His most numerous collection is kept at his house at Wimbledon; in town, the more rare and valuable articles only are preserved. Men, not conversant with matters of this kind, will be astonished at the sums expended by this nobleman; and those despicable *muck-worms*, who calculate the value of wealth by its produce alone, will not only affect wonder but indignation when they learn his munificence. Lord S. lately gave Edwards, of Pall Mall, the sum of one hundred and twenty-nine guineas for an original copy of Dante, printed in the year 1472, notwithstanding he possessed several other copies of a different date and impression. The late Mr. Payne, of the Mews Gate, so celebrated for his acuteness in matters of this sort, is said to have offered his lordship no less than 13,000l. for his collection, consisting of only a few hundred volumes of original editions of Italian classics. His libraries, however, are less remarkable for their size than for the costly articles they contain, and they have been estimated, by the bookseller alluded to above, to be worth 25,000 l. when appraised at *a gentleman's price.*

Mr. Sotheby, in his poem called "The Battle of the Nile," has addressed the following complimentary lines, with which we shall conclude this article, to the subject of the present memoir:

"TO

"TO EARL SPENCER,

"FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY, &c.

"SPENCER! were mine the pow'r, by lofty lays,
"Guerdon of high desert, to lift thy name
"On the proud column of recording fame,
"I, to bold notes, that swell the song of praise,
"Had tun'd the lyre—th' immortal meed be thine
"That Freedom wreaths the patriot's brow around!—
"For at thy country's call thou, foremost found,
"Didst leave the groves where science wont to twine
"Thy chaplet richly grac'd with classic flowers.
"Yet Britain claims thy care:—yet firmly guide
"Her fleets, to conquest born on every tide—
"So shall fair Peace, with glory in her train,
"Woo thee to Althorp's tranquil haunts again,
"And Victory's naval crown adorn the Muses' bow'rs!"

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD ALVANLEY, OF ALVANLEY,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE COMMON PLEAS, &c.

THE profession of the law naturally leads to wealth, and at the same time opens an avenue to all that is most honourable in the state. Men of great talents soon attain eminence by it; and even those who possess moderate endowments, provided they exhibit but industry and application, are sure of acquiring, if not any high degree of eminence, at least all that can gratify ambition or solace avarice. It was formerly imagined by our wise forefathers that they were *priest-ridden*, and at the Reformation they adopted the necessary measures to *abate the nuisance*.

What

What priests were formerly, lawyers are becoming now; they hover over us at our birth and at our death; we cannot receive or assign an inch of land without their intervention; we cannot enter into any contract without their presence; and so complex have our fiscal regulations become of late, that it is almost necessary to apply to one of them before we can with propriety affix our signature to a simple receipt. This by many will be considered as a *nuisance* also; however, we wish not to abate but to regulate it.

Lord Alvanley, better known perhaps as Sir R. Pepper Arden, is the son of a man of considerable fortune, and was born in Yorkshire, where he is said to have received the early part of his education. His elder brother, who is still alive, inherited the bulk of the family estates in Cheshire and Yorkshire, where he possesses two fine seats, and, being addicted to a country life, comes but seldom to town. As he remains a bachelor, it is extremely probable that his extensive possessions will revert to the family of the subject of these memoirs.

Richard being a younger brother, it was determined, according to the received opinions of the times, to give him an education and a profession that would enable him to create a fortune for himself.

He was accordingly entered of Trinity College, Cambridge, where, to adopt the language of a contemporary, " his *convivial* talents have left behind them an impression infinitely more durable in academic

demic tablets, than more useful and valuable accomplishments. The *True Blue Club* was accustomed to consider him as its chief ornament and first support. *Præsidium et dulce decus.*

"The last revision of the *restrictions*, which this old and respectable society thought proper to place upon her fellows, were principally made under the direction of Mr. Arden, who, while he was forming statutes for binding so confined a circle, probably had little thoughts that he would afterwards be engaged in framing laws for a mighty empire. Perhaps too, (it is illiberally added) it were safer had he and his friends contented themselves to see his abilities exerted in a sphere where they were so early and happily distinguished."

Whether Mr. Arden took an academic degree or not, we do not possess the means of ascertaining; but it is most probable that he did so on many accounts, more especially as it tended to abridge the probationary period allotted to him in his future vocation. Certain it is, that he came to town early in life, entered himself of the Middle Temple, and, like all other students, *eat his way to the bar.* Like most young men, too, his progress at first was not very considerable, and what little practice he obtained was confined to the Court of Chancery. There, however, he never procured any great eminence as a pleader, and his business as a *draftsman* was on the whole inconsiderable.

It was not long, however, before Mr. A. took a step that proved highly beneficial, not only to his

private

private happiness, but also to his settlement, and perhaps to his advancement in life. The event we allude to was his marriage with Miss Bootle, the daughter of Richard Wilbraham Bootle, Esq. M. P. a gentleman who possessed considerable estates in a county * where part of his own family possessions were situated. This fertile subject afforded many opportunities for the good-natured raillery of his friends, particularly such of them as were bachelors, who joked him about the desperate *leap* of matrimony, and affected to admire the *sternness of his resolution.* From compliments of this kind he contrived to extricate himself, in a manner no less whimsical than victorious; being accustomed to remark, with his wonted jocularity, that "he had every reason to be *content* with his new state, for if his immediate views at the *bar* were not much mended, it was pretty evident that his *chamber practice* would be far more considerable."

We suspect that this was true in *more than one sense*, and that the jest and the fact were equally good, for soon after this we find the professional exertions of Mr. Arden more frequently called forth to public view, and the number of his briefs and his clients increasing considerably. We also find him, at the time he was practising in the courts below, elected to a seat in the House of Commons, and thus enabled, while arguing concerning the nature of the laws in one part of Westminster Hall, to assist in the enacting of them in another.

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* Cheshire.

This elevation, as well as the sudden success of the subject of these memoirs, in his forensick employments, have been attributed by some solely to Mr. Arden's connubial connexions; but we believe that those most intimately acquainted with him will readily assign a different cause.

Although a junior to himself, he had become acquainted with Mr. Pitt at Cambridge, who was considered, even during his father's life-time, and while but a boy himself, as

"ALTERA SPES TROJÆ."

How far he may have disappointed the predictions of his friends, or realized the prophecies of his enemies, it would be unnecessary here to hint: it is sufficient to remark, without alluding in the most distant manner to Mr. A. that his patronage has led to the advancement of many men who might otherwise have "strutted and fretted their day" upon the political stage, and then been heard of no more. This perhaps would not have been the case with the person in question, but it certainly was a fortunate circumstance for him, that, in addition to an early acquaintance at college, he possessed a thousand other facilities of cementing a friendship, which, however trivial they may appear, yet actually *tell* for far more than they import. Among these then are to be reckoned the circumstance of frequenting the same coffee-house, and of residing in the same inn of court *, in the same buildings, and even on the same staircase, with the late premier. This led to

* Lincoln's Inn.

dinners

dinners and convivial parties; and, as they were both professional men, they were accustomed to walk down to Westminster Hall, and afterwards ascend the long and portentous flight of steps leading to the House of Commons, together.

It is but just to observe, however, that, so early as the year 1783, Mr. Arden had already aspired to, obtained a silk gown, and even become Solicitor General *, a post leading to the first legal offices in the state. The next rise was to the still more important station of Attorney General; and, in the year 1788, he was nominated Master of the Rolls by one Chancellor †, to the great displeasure, as has been said, of another ‡. "On the appointment of Lord Kenyon to the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench," says a writer already quoted, "Sir Pepper was secured in the Mastership of the Rolls; *sed longo proximus intervallo.* They who recollect the circumstances that attended this nomination, are not, at the same time, unacquainted with the differences that so long raged between the two Chancellors previous to the dernier adjustment of it. Sir Pepper in the interim was bandied from the Chancery to the Exchequer, and from the Exchequer again to Chancery, in a very pitiable suspense; but was at length confirmed in the appointment, notoriously in the teeth of an authority which had often been disputed, but never before vanquished.

* This took place when the present Lord Kenyon was appointed Attorney General.

† The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

‡ Lord Thurlow.

"In

"In his official capacity Sir Richard Pepper Arden had little opportunity of distinguishing himself; for the Master of the Rolls is no longer considered as a *legal Purveyor* for the Lord Chancellor. The cause of objection that existed before his election to office has not yet, nor, in the general opinion, can ever be, removed. It was not any political contention that barred the path-way of Sir Pepper to the Rolls, Mr. Pitt's right of interference in law distributions being never argued. Not the *appointment* but the *appointed* was the object of resistance. In the Chancellor's absence from the court we have, therefore, never been surprised that Mr. Justice Buller should have uniformly filled the temporary seat; which speaks, as plainly as actions can, the sentiments of the first law authority in this country respecting the abilities of the Master of the Rolls now in being*. The Chancellor's saying to Mr. Pitt on the question of merit, not on the merit of the question, was as strong as usual: "I care not," observed he, "whom the devil you appoint, so you do not appoint one who, instead of lightening *my* burden, will heave you his *own* d——ned wallet upon my shoulders."

In direct opposition to the above, it ought in candour to be remarked, that no one has ever more faithfully discharged the high and important functions of Master of the Rolls than the person in question; his character has always been unimpeached, and his integrity has ever remained unquestioned by the numerous suitors in his court. True it is, that Lord

* The Editor does not think this mode of reasoning conclusive.

Thurlow was pleased to select a judge * from the Court of King's Bench to sit as *locum tenens* during his absence; and equally true, that, for legal acumen, no abler man in the kingdom could have been pitched upon: we apprehend, however, that it is a far more correct practice than that hitherto in use, for, as the Master of the Rolls often decides in the first instance, subject to the revision of the Chancellor, it would be highly indecorous for him to sit in judgment on his own opinions.

Having hitherto mentioned Lord Alvanley as a lawyer only, it may not be now amiss to contemplate him in another capacity. His first entrance into parliament was as a burgess for Hastings, but he afterwards sat for the city of Bath, and has always acquitted himself in a creditable manner as a legislator, carefully avoiding those personal altercations, those rancorous retorts, and that bitterness of invective, which the partizans of both sides of the house but too often display.

We find him employed in his senatorial capacity, in 1792, respecting a subject he was admirably qualified to decide upon, in consequence of his professional avocations. What we allude to respects one of the branches of the Court of Chancery, and, as it demonstrates either that the wealth of this country has increased in an extraordinary degree, or that the influence of that court has extended in a surprising manner, we shall recite the particulars.

Sir R. P. Arden stated that, "in the year 1732,

* The late Sir Francis Buller.

the sums of money belonging to the suitors in the Court of Chancery, deposited in the Bank of England in the name of the Accountant General, amounted to 1,241,433l. The Accountant General had then two clerks to assist him in doing his business, and a third clerk was added in the year 1764. In 1768 the effects of the suitors of the High Court of Chancery had increased from 1,241,433l. to 5,000,000l. when a fourth clerk was assigned him. At present the money in the Bank of England, the property of the suitors of the Court of Chancery, in the name of the Accountant General, amounted to 11,592,674l. 8s. 9d. and the dead cash to 659,000l. Notwithstanding this prodigious increase no additional clerks have been assigned to the Accountant General, though it was evident that his business was prodigiously increased; and therefore one object he had in view in bringing in a bill was to give the Accountant General three additional clerks, and some additional salaries to those clerks which he already had, and who were usefully and laboriously employed through the whole year.

"Another object of this bill was, to provide for the Masters in Chancery proper offices, not for the accommodation of the Masters themselves, but in order to have a repository for all the papers belonging to suitors in causes under their cognizance."

A bill was brought in accordingly, and every thing regulated in it conformably to the opinions of the then Master of the Rolls.

There is one great question, highly interesting to

 all

all the friends of humanity, which in an eminent degree exhibits the heart of every man engaged in it, and for which, to our utter astonishment, Sir R. P. Arden was but a very tame and moderate advocate. It will be readily imagined, that we now allude to the slave trade. When Mr. Dundas, who has been accused of having completely *strangled* this foster child, which he at one time affected to nurse and protect, moved for a Committee of the whole House, on Friday April 27, 1792, " to consider further means for its abolition," Lord Mornington rose, and, after lamenting the fate of his former motion, prayed for a speedy termination of a traffic which had been already condemned as *criminal*, inasmuch as it was repugnant to the principles of justice and humanity. He added, that, had he followed his feelings, he should have proposed the immediate total abolition of this odious, abominable, insufferable, hateful trade! and he was sorry that " so infamous, so bloody a traffic ſhould exist for one hour." Mr. Pitt, in a very able and eloquent speech, lamented that " his efforts had not hitherto been successful" respecting this infamous trade, and entered into a display of horrors, which had a prodigious effect both on the house and the public, and produced unutterable astonishment in the minds of all shrewd men, when they considered that he had carried the most unpalatable and unpopular measures by a large majority, while he had never once failed but in the cause of outraged humanity!

The Master of the Rolls (Sir R. P. Arden) rose immediately

immediately after Mr. Pitt, to whom he paid many high compliments; he said, that he wished to vote for the question that his "right honourable friend" adopted, and he willingly attributed to his conduct every degree of credit.

"The inhabitants of the West India islands were subjects, it was true, of the crown of Great Britain, but they were certainly *qualified* subjects. In what relation were they subjects? Not by compulsion or force, but by the ties of union, and the bond of interest; the moment the bond was dissolved, there was an end of the compact. The West India colonists, under the sanction of Parliament, and the protection of Great Britain, had laid out large sums, and embarked in the trade which that house was about to put an end to. Sir Richard stated, that we had kept a monopoly of the trade to the West Indies in our hands, and we had a right undoubtedly so to do. His right honourable friend had called for an answer in certain points, but he declared it was totally out of his power to give any, because he dared not enter the lists with him, as he should have no chance in such a controversy. The moment America ceased to belong to us, he observed, it was fair for us to say, as we had said to the West India islands, "You shall not be supplied from thence; we will supply you with provisions:" and the fact was, we had supplied the islands ever since. Sir Richard adverted to the arguments of last year, and contended that they differed greatly from those used now. It was shocking to relate what had last year

been urged, that the merchants or planters in some islands, after they had worked the slaves into a state of infirmity and wretchedness, transferred them to others for prompt payment. He was, he said, for a *gradual* abolition, because that was, he believed, practicable; and he was convinced, if we could not abolish the trade with the free will of the West India islands, we could not effect any abolition at all. He declared he was ready to vote for 1793, because he knew that all he could do would not prevent the abridgment of what he conceived to be a proper period of postponement."

The conduct of Sir Richard was far more decisive on another occasion, in which indeed he may be said to have been more nearly interested.

Our late ministers either were, or affected to be, greatly alarmed at the contempt and disgrace into which their administration had fallen soon after the French revolution. They propagated this alarm at first only among their immediate partizans; they then recurred to the executive government, and communicated, through that channel, their fears to the House of Commons, in the form of a proclamation. The Master of the Rolls being a member of the cabinet, and a lawyer of considerable standing, was of course consulted on, and advocated, the measures then adopted in consequence of these events. We accordingly find, that when Mr. Dundas, on Friday May 25, 1792, moved the order of the day, which was for the house to take the King's proclamation into consideration, on the proclamation being read,

Sir

Sir Richard immediately arose, and "with great satisfaction," called the attention of the members to the paper before them.

* "That satisfaction arose from a confident hope he had, that the ground on which the measure was issued, and what he intended to move on it, would meet with a warm and general concurrence in that house, and with the public. He hoped that, whatever differences might exist amongst many honourable members of that house upon some points, they would all agree in this. He trusted they were all actuated by a dutiful and loyal obedience to the King, and had a firm resolution to maintain the purity of the law; and that they would use their best endeavours to secure both against all the attempts of designing persons, to lessen the dignity of the one, or degrade and vilify the other.

"He trusted that every man who heard him would be ready, by his vote this night, to prove to the world that it was his opinion, that the crown was an essential part of the constitution, and that its dignity and just prerogatives ought to be maintained; that the constitution, both in church and state, was calculated to secure the happiness of the people; that the laws should derive energy from the submission of those for whose welfare they were enacted, and that this energy must be destroyed if the magistrates, who were appointed to execute them, were treated with disrespect.

"The proclamation said, that divers wicked and seditious writings have been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, tending to excite tumult and disorder, by endeavouring to raisé groundless jealousies and discontents in the minds of his Majesty's subjects; which, in other words, tended to create suspicions, and to entertain principles that were utterly subversive of civil society, and that subordination, without which a state could not exist. He believed that it would be needless in him to dwell on the consequence of such writings, for they were obvious. The

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* This sketch is taken *verbatim* from an account of the debates, printed in 1792, to avoid the possibility of error or misrepresentation on the part of the Editor.

constitution of this country had challenged the examination of the wisest heads; natives and foreigners had united in its praise, and, what was still more, the happy effects were visible from the throne to the cottage.

"It might have been expected, perhaps, that such publications should meet with the contempt they merited, and be consigned to oblivion; but sorry he was to observe, that it was true that there were, in this country, not only persons who promoted the circulation of these publications, and that bodies of men were formed who held forth principles of the most dangerous nature as objects of example and imitation, and recommended them to the perusal and attention of the people, much to the danger of the present form of our government, but also endeavoured to call the attention of every individual in this country to what was denominated abuses and grievances, and preferred the forms of government in other countries to that under which we at present had the happiness to live.

"For this most dangerous and wicked purpose correspondences were held by persons in this country with those in foreign parts, for the effectual overthrow of this happy state. In such a condition of affairs he appealed to every man in that house, whether the executive government of this country had not acted wisely in taking the measures they had against the further proceedings of such dangerous doctrines? When he saw in this country such correspondence with foreign nations, and when he reflected on what had lately happened in a foreign country, in consequence of the prevalence of the principles to which he alluded, and when he had reason to fear that misery would be the result of it, and when he frequently heard some discussions on the subject, and knew that notice had been given of an intention to renew it, whatever might be the result of the whole, it was enough for him to say, that such discussions at this time were dangerous, and that such a situation as this is, required that we should be very careful to preserve it from alteration.

"He recollected a part of the speech of an honourable Baronet (Sir James Murray) who had seconded the address at the opening of the present session; that part of that speech gave him great pleasure in the recollection, as well as it did in the time it was delivered.

delivered. It was, "That there was a great and leading distinction between the constitution of this country and the old constitution of France. The French had destroyed theirs, because it was essentially a *bad* constitution—we should preserve ours because it was essentially a *good* one." Then why were the people of this country to have their attention withdrawn from the contemplation of the happiness they enjoy, and visionary theories held out to them, by which all the blessings they now have might be lost? for such was the tendency of many publications of which his Majesty, in his royal proclamation, took notice.

"The learned gentleman said, that he thought the people should be taught to avoid the perusal of all publications whatever that had any dangerous tendency. Some of them were speciously worded, but they covertly meant, and aimed at, the destruction of our form of government. They had been circulated with great industry through schools and seminaries of learning; and, if they began to make a progress towards the conversion of some young persons, it was high time for government to look into what probably might be the consequence of such publications. He did not, he affirmed, go too far when he said this; and the house, he believed, would be of the same opinion, when he should read to them an extract from one of these publications, which was, "*That all government was tyrnnny, that all kings were, tyrants, and their subjects slaves.*" This was not indirectly, but directly an attack upon all governments whatever. The consequence of such doctrine, if followed, would be to put an end to all moral obligation—a dissolution of the tie by which man was bound in civil society—an end to all civil connexions—all connexion of obedience and gratitude for security and protection. All this he stated to be the direct consequence of these attempts, if they should succeed. The conduct of every good man should tend to suppress these attempts. Such a man would find himself bound to, and would feel it incumbent upon himself, to follow the dictates of religion and morality, and make the law the rule of his conduct upon all occasions, and in every manner possible to discountenance these principles, and to do all in his power to resist every thing that might endanger the public tranquillity; in short,

short, to counteract these poisonous publications, which had been so industriously circulated.

"It was not possible for persons, who countenanced such publications as those to which he was alluding, to say that they were friends to the British constitution; for those writings had been loud in praise of one which had been lately established, a constitution which had but little in common with ours. If the praise bestowed upon it meant any thing, it meant this, that the French constitution was a model which we ought to adopt or imitate. It was therefore impossible that men, who were friends to the British constitution, could ever think of fashioning it after such a model, which would completely subvert it. Here Sir Pepper quoted a sentence from Mr. Burke's book upon the French revolution, expressive of that right honourable gentleman's apprehension of the effect of the zeal, fraud, and ignorance, of persons calling themselves *reformers*. The learned gentleman then said, that he could not think the executive government were wrong in this case; nor did he think that the proclamation they had heard read would appear improper in the opinion of the house. To this purport he had risen in order to move, that an address might be presented to his Majesty, in substance as follows:

"That his faithful Commons had taken into their most serious consideration the proclamation which had been laid before them; that they assured his Majesty of the sense they had of his Majesty's goodness, and could not see without indignation the attempts made to alienate the affection of his subjects from his Majesty's person and government; that they conceived all the manifold advantages, which they had enjoyed under his Majesty and his ancestors, were derived from a well-regulated freedom, and not from the adoption of any delusive theories, such as were recommended to notice in the seditious publications to which the proclamation alluded.

"That the nation concurred in an universal sentiment, that real liberty was only to be found under the protection of the laws; that our well-poised legislature, and mixed form of government, was the best calculated for the general happiness of society, and for preserving those distinctions which gave employment, which

urged

urged ambition, and which afforded stability and welfare to the whole; that, as a collective body, they were interested to support the constitution as by law established, and the King, with the utmost effort of a free and loyal people."

The zeal and loyalty of Sir R. P. Arden did not fail at length to be rewarded, for no sooner did the late ministry talk seriously of retiring, than a fair opening was made for many of their friends. As there was a large family estate in reversion, no doubts were entertained but a patent of nobility would be granted to the Master of the Rolls; this was not all, for he not only received the dignity of a Baron of the united kingdom, by the style and title of Baron Alvanley, of Alvanley, in the county palatine of Chester, May 22, 1801 *, but one of the highest dignities of the profession was soon after conferred upon him. We accordingly find that, when Lord Eldon surrendered the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, on his advancement to the office of Lord High Chancellor, Lord Alvanley was appointed his successor, having been previously elevated to the dignity of the coif †.

It

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* *Whitehall, May* 22, 1801.

"The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, unto the Right Honourable Sir Richard Pepper Arden, Knight, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title, of Baron Alvanley, of Alvanley, in the county Palatine of Chester."

† *Whitehall, May* 30, 1801.

"The Right Hon. John Lord Eldon, Lord High Chancellor, having on the 21st of May instant surrendered the office of Chief

Justice

It must be allowed that this is rather a novel situation for one accustomed to the proceedings of the civil law, for having been brought up in the Court of Chancery, the practice and decisions of our municipal code cannot be supposed to be familiar to him. On the other hand, Lord Kenyon was confessedly in the same predicament when he was called to preside in the Court of King's Bench; and what is conclusive in respect to this subject, is the plain *matter of fact*, that Lord A. has already sat for some time as a judge in Westminster Hall, in a manner highly honourable to his credit.

Although no one has borne his honours with more meekness than the subject of these memoirs, yet few men have been more exposed to the shafts of malignity and the darts of ridicule. One satirist has pored over Shakespeare, in order to introduce a ludicrous passage about a forest * that had an imme-

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Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and the King having been pleased to order a writ, commanding the Right Hon. Sir Richard Pepper Arden, Knight, to take upon him the state and degree of a Serjeant at Law, he appeared at the bar of the Court of Chancery in Lincoln's Inn Hall, (pursuant to the statute of the 39th of his present Majesty, cap. 113) on Friday the 22d day of this instant May, where his writ being read, the usual oaths were administered to him."

Whitehall, May 30, 1801.

"The King has been pleased to constitute and appoint the Right Hon. Sir Richard Pepper Arden, Knight, Serjeant at Law, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, on the surrender of John Lord Eldon."

* The forest of Arden.

diate

diate allusion to his name; while another, becoming still more personal, exclaims with Juvenal,

"Non cuicunque datum est, habere Nasum!"

A *timely* allusion to the dial-plate of the House of Commons, joined to an unfortunate Christian name*, have also exposed him to the wit of the authors of the "Rolliad †;" but, from the known

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* Pepper!

† Some resolutions having passed in the House of Commons, between the hours of six and seven in the morning, the *then* Attorney General, looking at the dial of the clock, observed with much good humour, that "they were entitled to no respect, as the house was at *sixes and sevens*." This provoked the following sarcastic lines, which are mentioned not on account of their truth, but their humour.

"When this ‡ shall point, the hour, the hour of question come,
Mutes shall find voice, and orators be dumb:
This, if in lengthened parle the night they pass,
Shall furnish still his opening to Dundas.
So PITT, when "hear hims" flag, shall oft supply
The cheer-trap trick of stale apology;
And, strange to tell! in Nature's spite provoke
Hot ARDEN once to blunder at a joke."

As the following *jeu d'esprit* by the same author contains some *professional* wit, we shall transcribe part of it, avoiding ever thing that might give personal offence.

No. VIII. PROBATIONARY ODE.

By the Attorney General.

I.

"INDITE, my Muse!—indite! *subpœna'd* is thy lyre!
The praises to *record* which *rules of Court* require!
'Tis thou, O Clio! muse divine,
And best of all the Counsel Nine,

‡ The hand or index of the clock.

Must

known good-nature of the person in question, we have no doubt but he was one of the first to join in the laugh.

The

Must *plead* my *cause!*——Great HATFIELD'S CECIL bids me sing——
The tallest, fittest man to walk before the King!

II.

Of *Sal'sbury's Earls* the first (so tells th' historic page),
'Twas Nature's will to make most wonderfully sage;
But then, as if too liberal to his mind,
She made him crook'd before and crook'd behind *.
'Tis not, thank Heaven! my *Cecil*, so with thee;
Thou last of Cecils, but unlike the first;——
Thy body bears no mark'd deformity;——
The gods *decreed*, and *judgment was revers'd!*
For veins of science are like veins of gold!
Pure for a time they run;
They end as they begun——
Alas! in nothing but a heap of mould!

III.

Shall I by eloquence controul,
Or *challenge* send to mighty ROLLE,
Whene'er on Peers he vents his gall?
Uplift my hands to pull his nose,
And twist and pinch it till it grows
Like mine, aside, and small?
Say by what *process* may I once obtain
A *verdict*, Lord, nor let me sue in vain!
In Commons, and in *Courts* below,
My *actions* have been try'd;——
The Clients who pay most, you know,
Retain the strongest side!

* Rapin observes, that Robert Cecil, the first Earl of Salisbury, was of a great genius; and, though crooked before and behind, Nature supplied the defect with noble endowments of mind.

True

The reputation of Lord Alvanley stands too high in the public estimation to be assailed in this manner: equivocal and suspicious characters cannot survive a jest; but, with men of reputation and integrity, *paper shot*, such as this, drops harmless from their buckler.

The present Chief Justice of the Common Pleas is particularly amiable in every relation of life. A good father and a good husband, he unites and blends with these the character of a good friend. No

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True to these *terms* I preach'd in politics for *Pitt*,
And *Kenyon's law* maintain'd against his Sovereign's *writ*.
What though my father be a porpus,
He may be mov'd by *Habeas Corpus*——
Or by a *call*, whene'er the state,
Or *Pitt* requires his vote and weight——
I tender *bail* for Bootle's warm support
Of all the plans of Ministers and Court!

IV.

And oh! should Mrs. Arden bless me with a child,
A lovely boy, as beauteous as myself and mild;
The little Pepper would some caudle lack:
Then think of Arden's wife,
My pretty Plaintiff's life,
The best of caudle's made of best of sack!
Let thy *decree*
But favour me,
My *bills* and *briefs*, *rebutters* and *detainers*,
To Archy I'll resign,
Without a fee or fine,
Attachments, replications, and retainers!
To Juries, Bench, Exchequer, Seals,
To Chanc'ry Court, and Lords, I'll bid adieu;
No more *demurrers* nor *appeals*;——
My writs of error shall be judg'd by you.

V. And

No one possesses a more generous disposition, no one keeps a more hospitable board. Even those who blame his politics allow that he acts from integrity; and we will venture to affirm, that his incorruptibility as a judge will long continue to be the theme of the suitors of the court over which he presides.

Before we conclude this article, it would be unjust wholly to omit the mention of Lady Alvanley, as she possesses many amiable virtues, and has been long known by her extensive and judicious charities.

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, A.M. M.P.

TO sacrifice fortune to principle; to immolate ambition at the shrine of duty; to offer up a man's best hopes and expectations, his health and his comforts on the altar of his country; these are no common,

V.

And if perchance great Doctor Arnold should retire,
Fatigu'd with all the troubles of St. James's choir;
My Odes two merits shall unite;
BEARCROFT*, my friend,
His aid will lend,
And set to music all I write:
Let then the Chamberlain, without a flaw,
For June the fourth prepare,
The praises of the King
In *legal* lays to sing,
Until they rend the air,
And *prove* my equal fame in *poesy* and *law*!

* This gentleman is a great performer on the piano forte, as well as the speaking trumpet and Jew's harp.

mon, no ordinary efforts: but when they are accompanied by fines, persecution, and imprisonment; when death and confiscation stare him in the face, our astonishment will naturally be increased, and common minds will be found to hesitate between wonder and approbation. Concerning men of this description, a future age will be eager in its inquiries, and it is befitting that the curiosity of the present should not be wholly disappointed. Indeed, there is no man existing in this country who possesses a fairer claim to be enrolled among its PUBLIC CHARACTERS than the subject of this memoir; and it is a matter of personal delicacy alone, on the part of the Editor, who possesses ample materials, that has hitherto prevented him from detailing the particulars. Had not Mr. Tooke become a member of the British legislature, this account should have never found its way to the press during his life-time.

John Horne Tooke is the son of Mr. Horne, a respectable inhabitant of Westminster, who attained considerable opulence, and became well known as Treasurer to the Middlesex Hospital, a noble and extensive charity, in the success of which his descendant, who is one of the governors, has always exerted himself with a kind of hereditary predilection. Young Mr. Horne enjoyed the best education that his native city, or perhaps any part of the kingdom, could afford, having been sent to Westminster school* at an early age, and no doubt meeting,

* The Editor has heard that, previously to this, he attended an academy in Soho Square, or its immediate neighbourhood.

while there, with all the equalizing gradations experienced in the vicinity of Dean's Yard by the heir of a duke as well as by the son of a peasant; thus rising in *gradation* from the humble state of a *fag* to the dignity and consequence of an *upper boy*.

It was soon remarked that Horne possessed considerable talents and application; but these were only exerted on extraordinary occasions, for at other times he was rather indolent, and so *chary* indeed was he of his abilities and his industry, that he was often accustomed to employ lads of inferior capacity to perform his tasks for him. The question is still undecided as to the superior advantages of a public over a private education; but such as contend for the manly mind, the ingenuous manners, and the practical knowledge, excited, elicited, and diffused by the former, will doubtless be eager to add this, to many other instances, in behalf of their favourite hypothesis.

Mr. Horne at the usual age removed to Eton, and soon distinguished himself among his contemporaries by the shrewdness of his remarks, the keenness of his wit, and the severity of his satire—satire never exerted but against what either was, or appeared to him to be, an abuse. From this celebrated school, the cradle of so many men of worth and talent, he was sent to Cambridge, and entered of St. John's College, in 1754.

In addition to his former character, he now added that of unabating industry, and, instead of giving himself up to the dissipation that too frequently cha-

racterizes

racterizes and disgraces our two universities, and often induces parents to send their children for education either to Scotland or Germany, he applied himself to his studies with extraordinary assiduity. Even at that period he is supposed to have turned his thoughts towards the formation and construction of his native language, and to have meditated the plan, from which afterwards he derived so much celebrity in his ΕΠΕΑ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ*.

Mr. H. was destined by his family for the church, and this gracious mother appeared ready to stretch forth her willing arms to receive him; indeed, he was wooed in no common form, for he soon enjoyed the immediate view of her choicest preferments; and, had it not been for the occurrence of some singular events, there can be but little doubt that he might at this moment have reclined at his ease within the stall of a golden prebend, or perhaps even have exhibited his mitred head with the Watsons, the Douglases, and the Porteuses, in the cathedral of a diocese and the upper house of parliament.

Mr. Horne having entered into holy orders while yet a very young man, obtained the living or *chapelry* of Brentford. But this was intended merely as a *debut*, for, as has been already hinted, fairer and better prospects were pointed out to him. His family possessed considerable interest, some of his re-

* While at Cambridge Mr. Horne took the degree of A. M. and it is not a little remarkable that this was attempted to be withheld by Lord Mumford, a relation of the nobleman (Lord Temple) who afterwards opposed his sitting in the House of Commons.

lations enjoyed appointments at court, and one of them held a confidential situation about a great personage. In short, it was so contrived, that a certain Duke was to make a *nominal* application to his Majesty in his behalf, which was to be immediately followed by ecclesiastical preferment *. Matters were in this train, when some unexpected events of a public nature ensued, and dashed the yet untasted cup from his lips!

The commencement of his present Majesty's reign was such as seemed to augur the most happy prospects to the nation. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, had carried the triumphant arms of Britain to the remotest quarters of the globe; we were victorious in every sea, and both hemispheres acknowledged our superior skill, bravery, and good fortune. On the other hand, a young prince, who justly gloried in being born a "Briton," by contributing to the independence of the judges, already seemed to exhibit a wish to keep the fountain of public justice pure and unpolluted, and thus promised to become the guardian of that constitution, which his ancestors were called in, and he himself sworn, to protect. A sudden change, however, took place in his councils, and new men and new measures were recurred to.

This extraordinary event was accompanied by a correspondent impression on the part of the people, and the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of Mr.

* Mr. Horne was promised that he should be appointed one of the chaplains to his Majesty, with a prospect of such other preferment as was sufficient to satisfy his wishes.

Wilkes,

Wilkes, then member for Aylesbury, by a general warrant, afterwards declared to be *illegal*, called forth the energies of the nation, and awakened a degree of jealousy that has never since been allowed to subside.

Mr. Horne was abroad when this occurrence took place; but having imbibed the principles, and inherited the spirit, of an Englishman, his heart was alive to every thing that affected either the honour or the liberties of his country: perhaps the contrast witnessed by him, in the various states through which he passed during his travels, made his own still dearer to him, from the recollection that its boasted pre-eminence originated in, and could alone be preserved by, the freedom of its government. During the subsequent exile of Mr. Wilkes he visited him at Paris; and, when he was foiled in his attempt to represent the city of London in 1768, Mr. Horne, at his own risk, opened houses for him at Brentford, supported his interests, procured him a multitude of friends, and finally enabled him to triumph, in consequence of being returned to Parliament as one of the knights of the shire for the county of Middlesex *.

It

* "I found you," says he, in a letter addressed to Mr. Wilkes in 1771, after that gentleman had treated him with no common degree of ingratitude, "in the most hopeless state; an outlaw; plunged in the deepest distress; overwhelmed with debt and disgrace; forsaken by all your friends, and shunned by every thing that called itself a gentleman, at a time when very honest men, who could distinguish between you and your cause, and who feared

It must be allowed, on all hands, that the private character of Mr. Wilkes was far from being immaculate; his cause however was unexceptionable, and no man knew better than Mr. Horne how to discriminate between them, as may be seen from the following quotation:

"I was your friend only for the sake of the public cause: that reason does in certain matters remain; so far as it remains, so far am I still your friend; and therefore I said, in my first letter, "the public should know how far they *ought*, and how far they *ought not*, to support you." To bring to punishment the great delinquents who have corrupted the parliament and the seats of justice, who have encouraged, pardoned, and rewarded murder: to heal the breaches made in the constitution, and by salutary provisions to prevent them for the future: to replace once more, not the administration and execution, for which they are very unfit, but the checks of government really in the hands of the governed:

"For these purposes, if it were possible to suppose that the great enemy of mankind could be rendered instrumental to their happiness, so far the Devil himself should be supported by the people. For a human instrument they should go further; he should not only be supported, but thanked and rewarded, for the good which perhaps he did not intend, as an encouragement to others to follow his example. But if the foul fiend, having gained their support, should endeavour to delude the weaker part, and entice them to an idolatrous worship of himself, by persuading

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feared no danger, yet feared the ridicule attending a probable defeat.

"Happily we succeeded, and I leave you by repeated elections the legal representative of Middlesex, an alderman of London, and about thirty thousand pounds richer than when I first knew you; myself by many degrees poorer than I was before; and I pretend to have been a little instrumental in all these changes of your situation."

them

them that what he suggested was *their voice—and their voice, the voice of God:*

"If he should attempt to obstruct every thing that leads to their security and happiness, and to promote every wickedness that tends only to his own emolument:

"If, when—the cause—the cause—reverberates on their ears, he should divert them from the original sound, and direct them towards the opposite unfaithful echo:

"If confusion should be all his aim, and mischief his sole enjoyment, would not he act the part of a faithful monitor to the people who should save them from their snares, by reminding them of the true object of their constitutional worship, expressed in these words of holy writ (for to me it is so), *Rex, lex loquens; lex, rex mutus.* This is—the cause—the cause—To make this union indissoluble is the only cause I acknowledge. As far as the support of Mr. Wilkes tends to this point I am as warm as the warmest: but all the lines of your projects are drawn towards a different centre—yourself; and if, with a good intention, I have been diligent to gain you powers which may be perverted to mischief, I am bound to be doubly diligent to prevent their being so employed."

Mr. Tooke's rupture with Mr. Wilkes soon after involved him in a dispute with the celebrated Junius, a name that will not be forgotten in this country while the English language continues to be that of the nation. In a letter addressed "to his Grace the Duke of Grafton," dated July 9, 1771, Mr. T. is accused of apostacy, and the dereliction of all his former political principles. This assertion did not remain long uncontradicted, for in four days afterwards the memorable reply, beginning with "*Farce, Comedy, and Tragedy,—Wilkes, Foote, and Junius,* united at the same time against one poor parson, are fearful odds," &c. appeared in the Public Adver-

 tiser.

tiser. After alluding to the insinuations that had been thrown out in respect to his "new zeal in support of administration," and professing "the utmost abhorrence to their measures," he continues thus:

"You are bound to refute what I here advance, or to lose your credit for veracity. You must produce facts; surmise and general abuse, in however elegant language, ought not to pass for proofs. You have every advantage, and I have every disadvantage. You are unknown, I give my name: all parties, both in and out of administration, have their reasons (which I shall relate hereafter) for uniting in their wishes against me; and the popular prejudice was as strongly in your favour, as it is violent against the parson.

"Singular as my present situation is," adds he, "it is neither painful, nor was it unforeseen. He is not fit for public business who does not, even at his entrance, prepare his mind for such an event. Health, fortune, tranquillity, and private connexions, I have sacrificed upon the altar of the public; and the only return I receive, because I will not concur to dupe and mislead a senseless multitude, is barely that they have not yet torn me in pieces. That this has been the only return is my pride, and a source of more real satisfaction than honours or prosperity. I can practise before I am old the lessons I learned in my youth; nor shall I ever forget the words of my ancient monitor——

——————"'Tis the last key-stone
"That makes the arch: the rest that were put
"Are nothing till that comes to bind and shut.
"Then stands it a triumphal mark! then men
"Observe the strength, the height, the why and when
"It was erected; and still walking under,
"Meet some new matter to look up and wonder!"

In the rejoinder to this letter the wary Junius was for the first time thrown off his guard, for he talks wildly about the folly of professions, while he himself is fighting under a mask, and roundly asserts

that

that Mr. Wilkes is to be supported "as long as he is a thorn in the King's side." The keen, searching eye of Mr. Tooke soon discovered the opening afforded him by his antagonist, and did not fail to take advantage of it.

"Sure this *Junius*," says he, "must imagine his readers as void of understanding as he is of modesty! Where shall we find the standard of HIS integrity? By what are we to measure the *conduct* of this lurking assassin?——And he says this to me, whose conduct, wherever I could personally appear, has been as direct and open and public as my words: I have not, like him, concealed myself in my chamber to shoot my arrows out of the window; nor contented myself to view the battle from afar; but publicly mixed in the battle, and shared the danger.

"To whom have I, like him, refused my name upon complaint of injury? What printer have I desired to conceal me? In the infinite variety of business I have been concerned, where it is not easy to be faultless, which of my actions can he arraign? To what danger has any man been exposed which I have not faced? *Information, action, imprisonment*, or *death?* What labour have I refused? What expence have I declined? What pleasure have I not renounced? But Junius, *to whom no conduct belongs*, "measures the integrity of men by their conduct, not by their professions;" himself all the while being nothing but *professions*, and those too *anonymous!* The political ignorance, or wilful falsehood, of this *declaimer* is extreme: his own *former* letters justify both my conduct and those whom his *last* letter abuses; for the public measures which *Junius* has been all along defending were ours whom he attacks; and the uniform opposer of those measures has been Mr. Wilkes, whose bad actions and intentions he endeavours to screen.

"Let Junius now, if he pleases, change his abuse, and, quitting his loose hold of interest and revenge, accuse me of vanity, and call this defence boasting. I own I have a pride to see statues decreed, and the highest honours conferred, for measures and actions which all men have approved; whilst those who counselled and caused them are execrated and insulted. The darkness in

in which Junius thinks himself shrowded, has not concealed him; nor the artifice of only attacking under that signature those he would pull down (whilst he recommends by other means those he would have promoted) disguise from me whose partizan he is.

"When Lord Chatham can forgive the aukward situation in which, for the sake of the public, he was designedly placed by the thanks to him from the city; and when Wilkes's name ceases to be necessary to Lord Rockingham to keep up a clamour against the persons of the ministry, without obliging the different factions now in opposition to bind themselves beforehand to some certain points, and to stipulate some precise advantages to the public; then, and not till then, may those whom he now abuses expect the approbation of Junius.

"The approbation of the public for our faithful attention to their interest, by endeavours for those stipulations which have made us as obnoxious to the factions in opposition as to those in administration, is not perhaps to be expected till some years hence, when the public will look back and see how shamefully they have been deluded, and by what arts they were made to lose the *golden opportunity* of preventing what they will surely experience---a change of ministers, without a material change of measures, and without any security for a tottering constitution.

"But what cares Junius for the security of the constitution? He has *now* unfolded to us his diabolical principles. As a public man, he must ever condemn any measure which may tend accidentally to gratify the sovereign; and Mr. Wilkes is to be supported and assisted in all his attempts (no matter how ridiculous and mischievous his projects) *as long as he continues to be a thorn in the King's side!*——The cause of the country, it seems, in the opinion of Junius, is merely to *vex the King*; and any rascal is to be supported in any roguery, provided he can thereby plant a thorn in the King's side.——This is the very extremity of faction, and the last degree of political wickedness. Because Lord Chatham has been ill-treated by the King, and treacherously betrayed by the Duke of Grafton, the latter is to be the pillow on which Junius will "rest his resentment;" and the public are to oppose the measures of government from mere motives of personal enmity

mity to the Sovereign!——These are the avowed principles of the man who, in the same letter, says, "if ever he should be con-"vinced that I had no motive but to destroy Wilkes, he shall "then be ready to do justice to my character, and to declare to "the world that he despises me somewhat less than he does at "present!" Had I ever acted from personal affection or enmity to Mr. Wilkes, I should justly be despised: but what does he deserve whose avowed motive is personal enmity to the sovereign? The contempt which I should otherwise feel for the absurdity and glaring inconsistency of Junius, is here swallowed up in my abhorrence of his principle. The *right divine* and *sacredness of kings* is to me senseless jargon. It was thought a daring expression of Oliver Cromwell, in the time of Charles the First, that if he found himself placed opposite to the King in battle, he would discharge his piece into his bosom as soon as into any other man's. I go farther; had I lived in those days, I would not have waited for chance to give me an opportunity of doing my duty; I would have sought him through the ranks, and, without the least personal enmity, have discharged my piece into his bosom rather than into any other man's.

"The king, whose actions justify rebellion to his government, deserves death from the hand of every subject. And should such a time arrive, I shall be as free to act as to say. But till then, my attachment to the person and family of the Sovereign shall ever be found more zealous and sincere than that of his flatterers. I would offend the Sovereign with as much reluctance as the parent; but, if the happiness and security of the whole family made it necessary, so far and no farther, I would offend him without remorse."

This celebrated letter * was dated July 31, 1771, and to it no *direct* reply was given; indeed Junius did not resume his labours until August 15, when he addressed an epistle—not to Mr. Horne, but "the Printer of the Public Advertiser." This circumstance

* It constitutes Letter LIII. of the collection published by H. S. Woodfall, in 2 vols. 12mo.

cumstance is alluded to in Mr. H.'s *parting* letter, dated August 17, 1771, in which he says,

"I congratulate you, Sir, on the recovery of your wonted style, though it has cost you a fortnight. I compassionate your labour in the composition of your letters, and will communicate to you the secret of my fluency. Truth needs no ornament; and, in my opinion, what she borrows of the pencil is deformity.

"You brought a positive charge against me of corruption. I denied the charge, and called for your proofs. You replied with abuse, and reasserted your charge. I called again for proofs. You reply again with abuse only, and drop your accusation. In your fortnight's letter there is not one word upon the subject of my corruption.

"I have no more to say, but to return thanks to you for your condescension, and to a grateful public and honest ministry for all the favours they have conferred upon me. The two latter, I am sure, will never refuse me any grace I shall solicit; and, since you have been pleased to acknowledge that you told a deliberate lye in my favour out of bounty, and as a charitable donation, why may I not expect that you will hereafter (if you do not forget you ever mentioned my name with disrespect) make the same acknowledgment for what you have said to my prejudice?—This second recantation will perhaps be more abhorrent from your disposition; but should you decline it, you will only afford one more instance, how much easier it is to be generous than just, and that men are sometimes bountiful who are not honest.

"At all events, I am as well satisfied with your panegyric as Lord Chatham can be. Monument I shall have none; but over my grave it will be said, in your own words, "Horne's situation did not correspond with his intentions."

"John Horne."

From this contest the *recreant* Junius withdrew, not without some share of disgrace; and the writer who had foiled Sir William Draper, terrified Lord Mansfield, exposed the Duke of Grafton, and assailed

sailed the throne itself with a torrent of reproach, felt for the first time the hand of a master.

Soon after this new objects, and those of still greater importance, began to occupy the mind of Mr. Horne. The American war, that fruitful source of so many crimes and so many misfortunes, was now preparing to deluge one country with blood and another with corruption. Among the most strenuous opposers of this measure, no one displayed more zeal, more ability, or more information, than the subject of this memoir. He considered the "war" on our part as a flagrant act of injustice; and what was stated to be "rebellion," he contemplated as a legal and constitutional resistance to oppression. Accordingly, when the skirmish at Lexington took place, he opened a subscription, and advertised in the public newspapers for the relief of our unfortunate brethren in America "basely murdered by the British troops." No sooner had the present Mr. Pitt grown up to the age of manhood, and, like the Jewish legislator of old, got a glimpse of the *land of promise*, than he testified an equal degree of abhorrence, and expressed himself in language to the full as bold and decisive. Mark, however, the contrast, gentle Reader! the one rose to the very first offices in the state in consequence of his patriotism, and then forgot "the means by which he did ascend," while the other was prosecuted by his Majesty's Attorney General, and committed to the King's Bench prison, where he suffered a long confinement.

All

All the avenues to clerical preferment being closed, and even the inclination perhaps annihilated, Mr. Horne had thrown off his gown, and *conceived* that he had become again a layman. He had accordingly resigned the chapelry of New Brentford, after having been in possession of it about eleven or twelve years, and now kept his *commons* regularly as a student of the Society of the Inner Temple *. For the profession of the bar no man, since the time of Lord Coke, has been better qualified either by nature or education, and no one has ever heard this gentleman speak, in public or in private, relative to questions, whether of technical import, or such as involve the objects of general justice, but must acknowledge that he would have made, what we have not possessed since the days of Glynn and Dunning, a great constitutional lawyer.

After his name had remained for a certain time on the books of the society, the day for a *call to the bar* at length elapsed; indeed the usual period was shortened in consequence of the degree of A. M. which he had obtained while at the university of Cambridge. To the surprise of the world, however, the Benchers of that inn objected to his admission—not on account of any deficiency in respect to abilities—not for want of recommendation—not in consequence of any suspicion annexed to his moral character, which has always been allowed to be unimpeachable—but because he had been in *holy orders!*

* Mr. Horne Tooke entered himself of the Inner Temple in 1756.

During

During a former period of our history, the clergy, being the only learned body of men in the nation, became the lawyers and the judges of the state, and to this very day the name * of one of the officers, and the *coifs* of all the Serjeants either on or off the bench, still testify the fact. Soon after the Reformation it became the policy of the times to separate the two professions, in such a manner that the all-grasping power of the church should not monopolize every thing both here and hereafter; but in the case of Mr. Tooke, a gentleman who had resigned his *preferment*, this policy ceased to operate, and the deeison that secluded him from the operation of his functions in a new profession, was considered as highly barbarous and unjust. Indeed, although secret influence had been recurred to on this occasion, the vote of the Benchers was not *unanimous*, and more than one of them have since been candid enough to declare that they were misled, and most heartily repented of their conduct!

Although Mr. Tooke had formally excluded himself from the pulpit, and was prevented by a harsh and violent resolution from appearing at the bar; although he did not possess a seat in parliament, either hereditary or elective, and was thus deprived of the usual means of announcing his opinions, yet his countenance and support were of considerable weight. This appeared evident on the coalition between Mr. Fox and Lord North; and it is not a

* *Clerk* of the Court, from his being originally *Clericus*, or one in holy orders.

little

little singular, that a Right Honourable Gentleman, during whose administration he was seized and tried for his life, with many circumstances of unexampled bitterness, after expressing the highest personal respect for him, at a public meeting actually conducted him to his carriage during a shower, and held his own hat over his head "for fear the winds of Heaven should blow too rudely," declaring that he ought to be careful of the health of a man of such importance to the commonwealth!!!

In 1790 Mr. Tooke suddenly became a candidate for Westminster, at the same time with Mr. Fox and Lord Hood, who expected to be chosen without opposition *. On this occasion he did not declare his intentions

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* The following is a copy of the memorable Petition presented soon after the election: it was of course considered by the Speaker as highly indecorous and scandalous

"To the HONOURABLE the COMMONS of GREAT BRITAIN, in PARLIAMENT assembled.

"*The Petition of* JOHN HORNE TOOKE, *Esq.*

"*Sheweth,*

"THAT your Petitioner now is, and at the time of the last election for Westminster was, an elector for Westminster, and a candidate to represent the said city and liberty in the present Parliament. That in the said city and liberty there are seventeen thousand two hundred and ninety-one householders, rated in the parish books, unrepresented in Parliament, and without the means of being represented therein; although, by direct and indirect taxation, they contribute to the revenue of the state very considerably more than those who send a hundred members to Parliament. That at each of the three last elections for Westminster (viz. in 1784, in 1788, and in 1790) notoriously deliberate outrage, and purposely armed violence, was used; and at each of these

intentions until the very morning of the poll, when the following hand-bill made its appearance:

"To

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these elections murder was committed: That for these past outrages, as if there were no Attorney General, no government, and no legislature in the land, not the least redress has been obtained, nor the least punishment, nor even the least censure, inflicted; nor has any remedy whatever been appointed, or attempted, to prevent a repetition of similar outrages in future. That at the election for Westminster a scrutiny was demanded in behalf of Sir Cecil Wray, which was granted on the 17th of May 1784, and, with the approbation or direction of the then House of Commons, was continued till the 3d of March 1785, when a very small comparative progress having been made (viz. through the small parish of St. Anne, and not entirely through St. Martin's, leaving totally untouched the parishes of St. George's, St. James's, St. Margaret, St. John, St. Paul Covent Garden, St. Mary le Strand, St. Clement, and St. Martin le Grand), the said scrutiny was, by the direction or approbation of the House of Commons, relinquished without effect, after having lasted ten months, and with an expence to SIR CECIL WRAY of many thousand pounds more than appears, by some late proceedings in Chancery, to be the allowed average price of a *perpetual seat in the House of Commons, where seats for legislation are as notoriously, &c. &c.*

"That, on the election for Westminster in 1788, there being an absolute and experienced impossibility of determining the choice of the electors by a scrutiny before the returning officer, a petition against the return was presented to the then House of Commons by Lord Hood, and another petition also against the return was presented by certain electors of Westminster; and a committee was consequently appointed, which commenced its proceedings on Friday April the 3d, 1789, and continued till June 18th, 1789, when the committee, as able and respectable, as ever were sworn to try and determine the matter of any petition, on their oaths, "Resolved, That, from the progress which the committee have hitherto been able to make since the comencement

"To the ELECTORS of WESTMINSTER.

"Gentlemen,

"I THINK it my duty on the present occasion to solicit your votes, to represent you in the ensuing Parliament.

"The

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ment of their proceedings, as well as from an attentive considera-tion of the different circumstances relating to the cause, a final decision of the business before them cannot take place in the course of the present session, and that not improbably the whole of the present Parliament may be consumed in a tedious and ex-pensive litigation.—Resolved, That, from the necessary length of the proceeding, and from the approach of a general election, which must occur not later than spring 1791 (nearly two years more), the prosecution of the cause, on the part of the peti-tioners, promises to be fruitless, as far as it respects the repre-sentation of Westminster in the present Parliament.—Resolved, That it be recommended to the petitioners to withdraw their pe-titions under the special circumstances of the case." That, not-withstanding this extraordinary, and perhaps unparalleled, appli-cation from a court of justice to its suitors, Lord Hood and the other petitioners having refused to withdraw their respective pe-titions, the proceedings of the committee continued till July the 6th, 1789, when a very small comparative progress having been made, the petitioners, from a conviction of the impossibility of any decision by the committee, were compelled to abandon their petitions, without any effect, or tendency towards effect, after a tedious and expensive litigation of three months and three days, and with an expence to the petitioning candidate of more than 14,000l.

"That, under these circumstances, as the Petitioner declined demanding a scrutiny before the returning officer, so is he com-pelled to disclaim all scrutiny before a Committee of the House of Commons; for, although the act of the 10th of George II, by which the said committee is appointed, recites, in its preamble, that "Whereas the present mode of decision upon petitions, complaining of undue elections, or returns of members to serve in Parliament, frequently obstructs public business, occasions much

"The evident junction of two contending parties, in order to seize, with an irresistible hand, the representation of the city of Westminster, and to deprive you even of that shadow of election to which they have lately reduced you, calls aloud on every independent mind to frustrate such attempts, and makes me, for the first time in my life, a CANDIDATE.

"I do

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much expence, trouble, and delay to the parties, &c. for remedy thereof, &c." yet it would be less expensive and less ruinous to the Petitioner to be impeached, even according to the present mode of conducting impeachments, and to be convicted too of real crimes, than to be guilty of attempting to obtain justice for himself, and the injured electors of Westminster, by the only mode which the new remedial statute of the 10th of George III. has appointed for that purpose, however well adapted that mode of decision may be to settle the disputed claims of the proprietors of small boroughs, for whose usurped and smuggled interests alone the framers of that bill, and of those bills which have since been built upon it, seem to have had any real concern.

"That by the 9th of Anne, chap. 5th, the right of electors (before unlimited by qualification in the objects of their choice) is restricted, in cities and boroughs, to citizens and burgesses respectively, having an estate, freehold or copyhold, for their own respective lives, of the annual value of three hundred pounds above reprizes. That this very moderate restriction, however vicious in its principle, leaving all citizens and burgesses eligible possessing life estates, freehold or copyhold, of the annual value of three hundred pounds, will henceforth serve only as a snare to the candidate, and a mockery of the electors, if such candidate, possessing a life estate of three hundred pounds a year, must expend fifty thousand pounds (and there is no probable appearance that a hundred thousand pounds would be sufficient) in attempting, by a tedious, expensive, and ineffectual litigation, to sustain the choice of his constituents, and to prove himself duly elected.

"That though your Petitioner complains (as he hereby does) of the undue election and return of Lord Hood, and the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, to this present Parliament, for the city and liberty of Westminster, yet is your Petitioner, by a per-

 secution

"I do not solicit your favour, but I invite you, and afford you an opportunity to do yourselves justice, and to give me an example (which was never more necessary) against the prevailing and destructive spirit of personal party, which has nearly extinguished all national and public principle.

"The enormous sums expended, and the infamous practices at the two last elections for Westminster—open bribery, violence, ... with the scandalous chicane of a tedious, unfinished, and ineffectual scrutiny, and a tedious, unfinished, and ineffectual petition—are too flagrant and notorious to be denied or palliated by either party; and the only refuge of each has been to shift off the criminality upon the other. Upon whom and how will they shift off the common criminality, equally heavy on them both, that neither of them has made even the smallest attempt, by an easy parliamentary and constitutional method, to prevent the repetition of such practices in future?

"If the revenue is threatened to be defrauded in the smallest article,

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secution and proscription of more than twenty years, disabled from making that pecuniary sacrifice, which by the present new mode of investigation is (and ought not to be) necessary effectually to prove such undue return; and yet your Petitioner fully trusts, that, notwithstanding a very great majority of the House of Commons (for so it continues to be styled) are not, as they ought to be, elected by the . . . . and must therefore naturally and necessarily have a . . . . against a fair and real representation of the people, yet your Petitioner fully trusts, that he shall be able to lay before a committee, chosen and sworn to try and determine the matter of this petition, evidence of such a nature as the committee will, on their oaths, think proper to report to the House, some resolution, or resolutions, other than the determination of the return; and that the House will make such order thereon as to them shall seem proper. And your Petitioner doubts not, that, as an elector at least, he shall in consequence receive such redress, as will be much more important to him, and to the electors of Westminster, than any determination of the return.

"JOHN HORNE TOOKE."

article, law upon law, and statute upon statute, are framed from session to session without delay or intermission. No right of the subject, however sacred, but must give way to revenue. The country swarms with excisemen and informers to protect it. Conviction is sure—summary, speedy;——the punishment—outlawry and death. Where, amongst all their hideous volumes of taxes and of penalties, can we find one solitary single statute to guard the Right of Representation in the people, upon which all the Right of Taxation depends?

"Your late representatives, and your two present candidates, have, between them, given you a complete demonstration, that the rights of electors (even in those few places where any election yet appears to remain) are left without protection, and their violation without redress. And for a conduct like this, they who have never concurred in any measure for the public benefit, they who have never concurred in any means to secure to you a peaceable and fair election, after all their hostilities, come forward hand in hand, with the same general and hacknied professions of devotion to your interest, unblushingly to demand your approbation and support!

"Gentlemen, throughout the history of the world down to the present moment, all personal parties and factions have always been found dangerous to the liberties of every free people; but

THEIR COALITIONS,

unless resisted and punished by the public, certainly fatal. I may be mistaken, but I am firmly persuaded, that there still remains in this country a public both able and willing to teach its government, that it has other more important duties to perform besides the levying of taxes, creation of peerages, compromising of counties, and arrangement of boroughs. With a perfect indifference for my own personal success, I give you this opportunity of commencing that lesson to those in administration, which it is high time they were taught. The fair and honourable expences of an election (and of a petition too, if necessary) I will bear with cheerfulness. And if, by your spirited exertions to do yourselves right, of which I entertain no doubt, I should be seated as your representative, whenever you shall think you have found some other person likely to perform the duties of that station more

 honestly

honestly and usefully to the country, it shall without hesitation be resigned by me, with much greater pleasure than it is now solicited.

"I am, Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient servant,

"*Wednesday, June* 16. JOHN HORNE TOOKE."

Mr. Tooke was not successful on the present occasion; yet, when it is recollected that he possessed neither hereditary nor parliamentary interest; that he was supported by none of the great aristocratical families, who arrogate an influence in Westminster, but, on the contrary, had all their weight and consequence, in addition to that of the army, the navy, the public offices, in short, the existing government, and even the opposition, to cope and contend with, this stand of a private individual, on his own character alone, must be allowed to have been memorable.

During a subsequent contest, when Sir Alan, now Lord Gardener, was the ministerial candidate, Mr. Tooke displayed his usual abilities, and experienced a similar result as before. Such, indeed, was the poignancy of his satire, that the gallant Admiral, who certainly did not come forward in the character of an independent man, whether his sinecure in the marines, or his immediate employment in the navy, be recollected, appeared confused and appalled; and the brave veteran, who had never shrunk from a contest with the foes of his country, seemed overawed and crest-fallen in the presence of so superior an antagonist *.

* The following is one of the speeches delivered from the hustings

But to return to the Westminster election of 1790.

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hustings upon this occasion; and, when sufficient allowance is made for the warmth of an election harangue, must be considered as not ill adapted to produce effect.

"I have more satisfaction from this day's poll than all the days that are past; not because I have polled a greater number of votes, but because my poll continues steady. This poll shews a steady people; and the steadiness of that people is of more consequence than the gaining of any election. You have this day thrust down the Admiral one step. The Admiral tells me it is a very small step: it appears therefore he does not value very much being in your esteem. I trust you will go on, and give him an opportunity to shew the excellence of his temper, by trying how he will bear to be put down the other step.

"The Admiral has said nothing to you this day but to return you thanks, which he does not owe; for the numbers upon the poll are notoriously not given to Sir Allan Gardener, but to Mr. Pitt, the minister.

"The Admiral told you the other day (with what decorum you will consider), that he should much rather choose to be returned your representative in Parliament (which is merely a political situation), he would much rather choose to be returned with the Right Honourable Gentleman, than with the other candidate, although at the same time he declared that he disliked the politics of the said Right Honourable Gentleman. He did not however add a single word of disparagement of the other whom he rejected as a colleague. I do not think he can. But if he can, or if those who sent him here can, I should be glad to hear it; and I think, after such a voluntary and uncalled-for declaration, he owes it, in his own justification, to you.

"In the mean time, I am left to find out the reason of his preference from the expressions which he has used. I am compelled to suppose, that the Baronet's reason is contained in the two words *Right Honourable*, for with these words he graced that Gentleman's name. A title before a name may be a very natural

Mr. Tooke, notwithstanding a considerable majority in favour of Mr. Fox, presented a petition against

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motive for a Baronet's preference in the choice of his colleague, but I will endeavour very shortly to convince you, that it would be a very bad motive for you in the choice of a representative, and I shall do it with greater satisfaction to myself, because Mr. Fox has a much better, and a much more solid, claim to your support; I mean that very opposition to the minister which the Baronet dislikes!

"In this country, if any of you have been at the parade, or at a review, you have seen the commanding officers standing gallantly before their men (as the candidates do here upon the hustings), and giving the word of command in front; you are egregiously mistaken, however, if you suppose they do the same in time of action. No, Gentlemen; they then give the word of command from behind! This will always be the practice in all other services as well as the military, so long as favour, and birth, and title, and parliamentary corruption, and money, promote men to superior offices. The higher their station, the safer in time of action will be their situation.

"Now then, Gentlemen, look at the conduct of that enemy, from whom you may learn some other things more useful than the Telegraph which we have adopted; with them superior merit and bravery alone promote their private men from the ranks, and place them in command, and even at the head of armies. See the never-failing consequence of this practice in their last brilliant victory at Lodi, when a column of their bravest grenadiers were for a moment stopped, and hesitating at the furious cannonade of the Austrians, six of their generals rushed foremost at the head of the column, gave their command, and (what was better) their example, in *front*, and victory immediately followed.

"You, Gentlemen, the electors of Westminster, and all the other electors throughout England, will do well to consider, and to ask yourselves these questions: In our present cruel struggle between Liberty and Slavery, who are the persons starving for want

against that gentleman; and on this having been declared "frivolous and vexatious" by a committee, a demand was made on the petitioner for certain damages * which were supposed to have ensued in consequence of his appeal to the House of Commons. This

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want of bread? To whom do the ministry propose a substitute for bread? Who are the persons oppressed, beggared, dishonoured, vilified, and ruined? Who are languishing and rotting in their gaols? [*A voice from the crowd said,* Horne Tooke.]—It is true, I have been frequently in prison; but at present I had forgotten myself, I was thinking only of you. I wish you to consider, who are sentenced to be flogged to death; or are tortured (the cruellest of all torture) with putrid diseases in their prisons? Who are sent as felons to Botany Bay? Who are cast into dungeons, and treated and tried as traitors? [*Many persons present exclaimed,* "The People!"]—Gentlemen, you say true. It is so. It is we; we the privates in the ranks. Where all this while were our political Generals? Where were our Right Honourable and Honourable Representatives? Behind, safe in the rear, reposing on their beds of pension and privilege. Gentlemen, believe me, you cannot possibly have the smallest chance, you cannot reasonably even entertain the smallest hope, of success, unless at your elections you pass by these Lords and Lordships, these Barons and Baronets, and choose for yourselves Representatives amongst the Privates in the Ranks."

* Mr. Garrow stated for the plaintiff, in the Court of King's Bench, "that this action was brought to recover the sum of 198l. 2s. 2d. the taxed costs of a petition which had been presented by the defendant to the House of Commons, and which by a committee of that house was voted *frivolous and vexatious.*" To this declaration the defendant pleaded, that he owed nothing to the plaintiff, and thereupon issue was joined. Mr. Erskine, another of the plaintiff's counsel, after observing that the act did not entitle them to enter into a discussion of the merits, called Mr. Dunn,

This matter was at length referred to the courts below, and a trial of course took place in the King's Bench, which proved not a little memorable on account of the circumstances that attended it.

Mr. Tooke, who acted on this as on other occasions without recurring to the aid of counsel, addressed the jury in a long and able speech, in which he endeavoured to impress on their minds, that there were only three efficient and necessary parties in the present cause: Mr. Fox, the plaintiff; himself, the defendant; and themselves, the gentlemen of the jury. "The judge and the crier of the court," added he, "attend alike in their respective situations, and they are paid by us for their attendance: we pay them well: they are hired to be the assistants and reporters, but they are not, and they were never intended to be, the controllers of our conduct." This was not a trial, he observed, between Mr. Fox and him about the trifling sum of two hundred pounds; that was by no means the ultimate object: a great and important national right was at stake; the last and only security which the full-grown corruption and iniquity of the times had left to the people of the land for their lives, their liberties, and their fortunes; this last and only security, "a real trial

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Dunn, who proved that the warrant, containing a certificate of the expences, had been signed by the Speaker of the House of Commons: an examined copy of the Journals of the House was also produced, by way of ascertaining that the petition had been voted *frivolous and vexatious*.

by

by a jury of our countrymen, is now attempted to be wrested from us."

After entering into a variety of curious and interesting details relative to the two prevailing parties of the day, which a change of circumstances and of times precludes the necessity of dwelling on with an invidious pertinacity, Mr. Tooke complained of the crimes implied in the words "frivolous and vexatious," invented in 1789, the judgment and application of which were reserved for another tribunal: this action of debt he considered as a penalty for the commission of a new offence; the act itself, he said, was a *spring-gun*, and spoke plain language, not to be misunderstood: "Tread not near our boroughs, for woe to the man in future who shall be caught in our traps, *our frivolous and vexatious traps*."

After a variety of pointed animadversions, the plaintiff read his Petition to the House of Commons, and then produced a very apposite passage from Blackstone's Commentaries on the trial by jury, concluding an able and elaborate speech in nearly the following words:

"Now I desire you will reflect what proofs of the debt have been brought before you? An examined copy of the Journals of the House of Commons, and the Speaker's certificate, have been produced. But what are you to try and examine? The Speaker's certificate? If the Speaker's certificate is sufficient to take away our property, why should not the Speaker's certificate be followed by an execution? What occasion is there to call a jury together to try nothing; and yet to make them solemnly swear to try *well and truly*? I ask again, unless it was for the purpose of perjuring a jury, why might not the execution have immediately followed the Speaker's certificate, as well as your verdict? Why? there

was

was no reason upon earth but one—It was done to colour the transaction. They are not yet quite ripe enough to strip from us at once (and let us know it at the time) our right to a trial by jury. But they have completely done it in effect. They have left us the jury, but taken away the trial!

"They have, by a subterfuge, taken away the trial, which is the important part, and left us the jury, which, without trial, is a mere mockery.

"As men then, as Englishmen, as Christians, or if you have any sense of any other tie or religion, you are compelled to pay a sacred regard to that oath which you have sworn; *that you will well and truly try*, and that your verdict shall only be in consequence of having well and truly tried the merits of the question. Where crime is the question, the jury must judge of the guilt charged, and of its extent: and in actions for property, they must judge whether any thing is really due, and to what amount; for if the jury are not to try, and decide upon the whole merits of the question before them, no man in this country can be safe in life or property for ever hereafter. Gentlemen, you are all strangers to me. You ought to be, and I believe you to be, twelve good and honest men; and if you are so, and act and do your duty accordingly, I will venture to say that you will sleep this night more happily, and with more satisfaction, than ever you slept in your lives."

Such an impression did this speech make on the jury, although it was, as the lawyers term it, *in the very teeth of an act of parliament*, that they could not agree in their decision while in court, but retired to consider of it; and, after an interval of four hours and twenty minutes, returned *a verdict for the plaintiff*.

"Thus ended a cause," according to a periodical work of that time, "which will be equally memorable, on account of the circumstances that gave rise to, and those which accompanied it; a cause, in the course of which the defendant, in the first common law court in the kingdom, and in the face of the whole world,

world, accused a Judge of the denial of justice, the two great parties in the kingdom of a wretched struggle for the sordid and precarious enjoyment of power, place, and emolument, and a House of Commons of England of gross and flagrant corruption."

At the commencement of the revolution in France, a new order of things took place in this country as well as in that. There, every member of the state was relaxed and palsied; here, they were perhaps attempted to be stretched to an unusual and unnatural degree of tension: in both, "terror" soon became *the order of the day*.

A number of societies at that period existed among us, the end and aim of which were professed to be parliamentary reform; a cause abetted, invigorated, and supported, by the masculine talents of the very gentleman who at that time held the reins of government under the title of Chancellor of the Exchequer. These societies now became the objects of ministerial jealousy. Plots being reported to have been hatched by them, in order to subvert the executive government, and extinguish the monarchy, associations for the support of the state were entered into, the *Habeas Corpus* bill was suspended, and the Tower was actually fortified! In addition to this, warrants were issued with the same profusion here as *Lettres de Cachet* had been in France under the despotic sway of the house of Bourbon; and Mr. Tooke, among others, was taken prisoner at his house at Wimbledon, his papers were sealed up, and he himself committed a close prisoner.

For

For delinquents of this description the ordinary course of law was considered as too slow in its process, and accordingly, on the 10th of September 1794, a SPECIAL COMMISSION of Oyer and Terminer was issued. On Thursday, October 2, it was opened at the Sessions House, Clerkenwell, in the presence of Sir James Eyre, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Archibald Macdonald, Knight, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, &c. The speech of the former of these Judges to the Grand Jury on this occasion, has been severely stigmatised, as tending to renew the odious and long since exploded doctrines of *cumulative and constructive treasons*, which criminate by *inuendo*, and would inflict punishments for *implied* guilt.

On Monday, October 6, the Grand Jury found a *true bill* against all the prisoners except one *. On the 13th the Solicitor to the Treasury delivered to each of them a copy of the indictment, a list of the jurors impannelled by the Sheriff, and of the witnesses to be produced on the part of the crown; on the 24th they were removed by *Habeas Corpus* to the Tower, and on the 25th they were arraigned before Lord Chief Justice Eyre, and severally pleaded *not guilty* to the indictment, which charged them,

1. With withdrawing their allegiance from the King:

2. With endeavouring to excite rebellion and war against his Majesty, in order to subvert and alter the legislature, and depose his said Majesty:

* Thomas Lovett.

3. With preparing and composing certain books, resolutions, and instructions, and traitorously causing and procuring the same to be published: And

4. With maliciously and traitorously procuring and providing arms and offensive weapons, to wit, guns, muskets, pikes, and axes, to levy and wage insurrection and rebellion against our said Lord the King, &c.

On Monday, November 17, the trial of Mr. Horne Tooke came on, and continued during that and the five following days.

Soon after Mr. Tooke's being brought to the bar, he was allowed to sit near his counsel, in consequence of what he would not term an "indulgence," but a "right." When several of the jury wished to be excused on account of ill health, this excuse was supported by the prisoner, who addressed the bench as follows:

"I, for my part, hope, that no infirm gentleman shall be taken upon this jury, because I had rather die where I stand than consent that the jury and the judge should quit this place till the cause is gone through. I do therefore beg that the jurors may be men in health, that they may not suffer in doing their duty, but that I may be the first victim. The law never intended that the crime of high treason, which ought to lie in the palm of your hand, should take up five days in the proof; therefore I beg your Lordship will be so good as to let me die in this place, rather than that the whole criminal law and practice of this country should be destroyed."

The Solicitor General, in a speech of *several hours*, endeavoured to maintain "the existence of a plot to subvert and alter the legislature, rule, and government

vernment of the kingdom, and to depose the King from his royal state, power, and government." A variety of papers were produced; the books of the Society for Constitutional Information were brought forward, and its secretary, and a number of other witnesses, were examined at the bar: but nothing was adduced that exhibited even a shadow of either conspiracy or guilt! On the contrary, the innocence of the prisoner became conspicuous, and he himself was so much at ease, notwithstanding a very bad state of health, that he afterwards declared, in the presence of the narrator, "if the song which was brought forward on the trial of Mr. Hardy had been produced against him, he was determined to have *sang it*; for," added he, "as there was no treason in the *words*, I should have left it to a jury of my countrymen to have declared, whether there was any in the *tune!*"

Mr. Erskine, in a very able and eloquent speech, asserted it to be the office of the jury to decide whether the record, *inseparable in its members*, was true or false. "My whole argument has only been, and still is," said he, "that the intention against the King's life is the crime, that its existence is matter of fact and not matter of law, and that it must therefore be collected by you, Gentlemen of the Jury, instead of being made the abstract result of a legal proposition, from any fact which does not directly embrace and comprehend the intention which constitutes the treason."

The reply on the part of the Attorney General was

was more remarkable for its *length* than its effect. One memorable circumstance however occurred, for that officer of the crown, who now presides in a much higher department, appears on this occasion to have surrendered the long contested point about *royal inviolability*, as he asserted (at least according to the printed trial *) "that if the King were to take a different parliament than what the law and constitution of England had given him, *he ought to lose his life; and I trust*," added he, "*would be willing to lose his life rather than act contrary to his coronation oath*."

On this Mr. Tooke, with his usual readiness, exclaimed, "What! is the Attorney General talking treason? I should be unhappy to mistake you (addressing himself to Sir John Scott)—Did you say the King ought to lose his life if he took any other parliament?"

After the merits of the cause had been fairly, fully, and amply canvassed, Mr. Tooke called a number of respectable persons to testify to his character, both public and private, for a series of years; and the jury, having withdrawn for only *eight minutes*, delivered in a verdict of *not guilty* by their foreman, to the evident satisfaction of the audience, as well as of the populace, with which the adjoining streets were crowded.

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* See "The Trial of John Horne Tooke, for High Treason, at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, &c. taken in Short-hand by Joseph Gurney." 2 vols. 8vo.

As soon as a calm had ensued, Mr. Tooke addressed himself to the court, and observed, "that his mind was better formed to feel and to acknowledge kindness than to solicit it."

"To prevent the prosecution of other persons for libel," said he, "I myself have suffered a prosecution for high treason: I return your Lordship thanks: I return my counsel thanks, my noble friend Mr. Erskine, who has been so nobly supported by Mr. Gibbs; and you, gentlemen of the jury, I return you my thanks. I am glad I have been prosecuted; and I hope this will make the Attorney General more cautious in future: he said he would have no treason by construction; and there is no suspicion against me but by construction and inference."

The conduct, ability, eloquence, and innocence of this gentleman, when added to his acknowledged worth, his high character, his respectable appearance, and his long, rigorous, and, as it may be now fairly inferred, his unjust imprisonment, produced a marked impression even on his enemies. Many of his friends burst into tears, and even some of the minions of power, forgetting themselves for a moment, testified an involuntary joy at his deliverance.

Having hitherto considered Mr. Tooke in the character of a statesman and politician only, it now becomes necessary to say something of him as an author and a man of letters.

During his imprisonment in the King's Bench, on account of his attack on a ministry of whose conduct and principles its surviving partisans cannot now reflect without blushing, and on a war allowed by its successors to be both impolitic and unjust, Mr. Tooke applied himself once more to the study of

of philology, and evinced how well he was calculated to discuss this subject, in "a Letter to John Dunning, Esq. afterwards Lord Ashburton *.

After an interval of a few years appeared "the Diversions of Purley †," so called from being written at Purley, the seat of Mr. Tooke, a very respectable gentleman, whose name he has adopted in addition to his own. In this work he displayed an uncommon fund of genius and erudition, and stamped his character as the first philologist of the age. Even the zealots of despotism, who detest his politics, cannot refuse an unwilling assent to this unequivocal display of his talents.

In 1787, when the nation was alarmed with the intelligence of the union of a great personage with a lady supposed to be of the Roman Catholic persuasion, appeared "a Letter to a Friend, on the reported Marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, by Mr. Horne Tooke." On this occasion it was humorously remarked, "that the author, after amusing himself with a number of critical discussions during the preceding summer, on the subject of nouns, pronouns, adverbs, and prepositions,

* This year (1778) the Rev. Mr. Horne published his "Letter to Mr. Dunning, on the English Particle." Johnson read it, and, though not treated in it with sufficient respect, he had candour enough to say to Mr. Seward, "Were I to make a new edition of my Dictionary, I would adopt several of Mr. Horne's etymologies: I hope they did not put the dog in the pillory for his libel; he has too much literature for that."

Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 266.

† The first edition was published in 1786.

in order to give a variety to his studies during the present, had taken a *political* but very *uncourtly* view of the nature, the extent, and the true signification of the *conjunction copulative*."

Mr. Tooke on this occasion saw reason to attack the policy, the propriety, and the justice of the celebrated marriage act, and ridiculed the idea "that a beautiful English woman is unworthy to be the companion of an English prince," as a degrading notion, unknown to, and unpractised by, our ancestors. In the course of his attack on the 12th of George III. which passed some time after the marriages of their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, he allows it to be "an act of parliament," but denies it to "have the *smallest force of law*; for," adds he, "there are acts of parliament which are not LAWS." He then instances "an act passed but a few years since, which directed the justices of the peace to take *forty* shillings out of *twenty*. Could this act," adds he, "be a law?" Certainly not (any reader but a *very uncommon one* will reply), while the absurdity that had thus crept into it continued to exist; and thus far the act alluded to was, to all intents and purposes, a *dead letter*, till the removal of the mistake by a subsequent act, founded on the same principles as the former, but free from that palpable error which, *prima facie*, rendered it for a time a legislative *non-entity*." In order to sanction and elucidate this doctrine, he recurred to the opinion of Lord Coke in the case of Bonham, in which that great lawyer observes,

serves, "it appeareth in our books, that in many cases the common law doth controul acts of parliament, and sometimes shall adjudge them to be void; for when an act of parliament is against common right and reason, or repugnant or impossible to be performed, the common law shall controul it, and adjudge such act to be void."

While treating on a subject, which in consequence of subsequent events has long since ceased to be interesting, and which we now notice merely on account of the celebrity of the author, he freely talks about "persons from the *stable*, the *gaming-house*, and the *counting-house*, who absurdly imagine that they have only to pass an act, and that such act will, or ought, or can, bind the subject in all cases whatsoever." He also observes that "he should be more than willing, even anxious, to barter the papist marriage for the responsibility of counsellors, and the independence of the representative body; being much more easily contented to trust the sovereign with a PAPIST WIFE than with a CORRUPT PARLIAMENT, although," adds he, "some consciences I know will be straining at a gnat, and popery is now become no more, whilst they gulp down greedily the camel of corruption, which is now become a monster."

In 1788 appeared "TWO PAIR OF PORTRAITS, presented to all the unbiassed Electors of Great Britain; and especially to the Electors of Westminster. By John Horne Tooke, an Elector of Westminster." On this occasion Mr. Tooke himself will perhaps

now allow, that he painted Mr. Pitt with *too fanciful a pencil,* while he at the same time distorted the features of a great commoner, who has acted of late in such a manner as doubtless to attract his applause, and washed away the remembrance of the ever to be deplored coalition with the *ostensible* author of the American war, by a life devoted to the service of his country.

In 1798 appeared the second edition of his celebrated work, entitled ΕΠΕΑ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ, or the Diversions of Purley, with the following dedication:

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

ONE OF HER GRATEFUL SONS, WHO ALWAYS CONSIDERS ACTS OF VOLUNTARY JUSTICE TOWARDS HIMSELF AS FAVOURS*, DEDICATES THIS HUMBLE OFFERING. AND PARTICULARLY TO HER CHIEF ORNAMENT FOR VIRTUE AND TALENTS, THE REVEREND DOCTOR BEADON, MASTER OF JESUS COLLEGE.

We are now to consider Mr. Tooke as a legislator.

It has been already stated, that he had stood twice, and

* Notwithstanding the additional authority of Plato's despicable saying, *Cum omnibus solvam quod eum omnibus debeo* †; the assertion of Machiavel, that *Nissuno confessera mai haver obligo con uno chi non l'offenda* ‡; and the repetition of it by Father Paul, that *Mai alcuno si pretende obligato a chi l'habbi fatto giustitia*; *stimandolo tenuto per se stesso di farla* §; are not true. They are not true either with respect to nations or to individuals: for the experience of much injustice will cause the forbearance of injury to appear like kindness.

† *Senec. de benefic.* lib. vi. ‡ *Discor.* lib. i. c. xiv.

§ *Opinione de Trea. Prol.*

and been twice unsuccessful, in his contest for the city of Westminster; it so happened, however, that early in 1801 he was elected to represent Old Sarum, in the county of Wilts. This ancient and decayed borough, is said to be under the influence of a noble Lord, nearly related to Mr. Pitt, and brother-in-law to Lord Grenville; it therefore excited no small degree of surprise when Mr. Tooke, who had been imprisoned and tried for his life during their administration, took the oaths and his seat in the House of Commons, on Monday February 16, 1801; and this was in no degree abated by the *friendly greetings* of the new Speaker, as it was in the remembrance of every one, that three years had not elapsed since the right honourable and learned gentleman had endeavoured, in a speech of five hours, to subject the new member to all the penalties of high treason!

On the very same day that Mr. Tooke occupied his seat for Old Sarum, Lord Temple, son of the Marquis of Buckingham (a nobleman supposed also to exercise a species of *patronage* similar to that of his noble relative Lord Camelford), rose and said, "that in consequence of having seen a gentleman sworn in, whom he considered as not legally qualified to sit in that house, if no petition was presented against his election, he conceived it to be his duty to move the house to take the return into consideration."

On Thursday, February 19, when Mr. Sturt made his motion relative to the failure of the Ferrol expe-

 dition,

pedition, Mr. Tooke spoke in favour of an inquiry with equal temper and ability. He observed, that he was astonished when an attempt of this kind was endeavoured to be resisted, more especially at a time "when the House of Commons was so ready to sit in judgment on the borough of Old Sarum, and the representative elegibility of an *old priest*." Towards the conclusion he begged leave, with his usual humour, to ask "what kind of infection he could produce in that house? and whether a quarantine of thirty years was not sufficient to guard against the infection of his original character?"

Mr. Tooke did not remain an idle member, but took every opportunity to express his sentiments in an open and manly manner, without any reference to party or connexion. On the 5th of March, on the second reading of the new "poor relief bill," originally proposed by the Duke of Bedford, and rejected by the Commons because it was a *money bill*, but now brought in by one of their own members*, he strongly opposed this measure. He declared himself an enemy to every departure from established and approved principles: this measure in fact went to create two different sorts and classes of paupers; to wit, paupers receiving alms, and paupers released from the obligation of paying them. He was for increasing the price of labour to its due proportion to the necessaries of life, and he wished the poor "to receive the full price of their earnings, not in the shape of alms but of hire."

* Lord William Russel, the Duke's brother.

When

When the house was in a committee on the high price of provisions,* after Mr. Wilberforce had sat down, Mr. Tooke rose and spoke as follows:

"Sir,

"I am poorly qualified, and I can be little expected to deliver an opinion upon any agricultural subject. In a committee, however, it is not necessary to make a studied harangue, and I shall now say a few words without fear of exposing myself. It appears to me, Sir, that your committees, with very good intentions, do a very great deal of mischief. They want information, they want sagacity, they want foresight. Had I had the honor to have been a Member during the last session of Parliament, the *poisoning bill* (for I cannot call it the brown bread bill)—the poisoning bill should have had my most strenuous opposition. The first Parliament of the united kingdom have given a favourable specimen of their talents for legislating, by making the repeal of it the first of their acts. Under the names of charity, humanity, and benevolence, it was calculated to prove the ruin of thousands.

"All your measures have been of a similar stamp; far from producing any beneficial effects, they are fruitful sources of mischief. Sir, it is idle now to think of keeping down the price of provisions: you cannot keep it down, and your aukward attempts will only make it rise the faster. Look back to the earliest times, and you see it constantly rising, and this cause continues to operate with encreased force. It is in vain then to struggle with inevitable necessity. You will only heap abuse upon abuse. Remove the national debt, repeal the taxes, and then you may hope to see things at a moderate price; but while you daily add to the amount of these, to entertain such a hope is madness. By this absurd and ineffectual attempt, the public distresses are rendered far more severe. The true friends to their country will allow things to rise in their natural course. By thus doing nothing they will do every thing. They will avoid a thousand errors, they will save millions of lives.

"Sir, in my humble opinion, however paradoxical it may appear,

* On Monday, March 2.

pear, you ought to try to raise the price of every thing. This doctrine may seem extraordinary, but it may be right for all that; and I shall at all times be ready to defend it. Notwithstanding all that has been said, I am a great enemy to innovation. I hate *innovation* in all things, in church, in state, and in agriculture. My *vital christianity* teaches me to love every thing that is established. Do I examine the attachment I ought to have to any system or practice, I do not examine its intrinsic merits, but I say to myself—Is it established? Though a much better might be pointed out to me, still I think it ought to be adhered to, and that no rash experiment should be hazarded. These are my opinions—these have ever been my opinions. I have long been in public life; I have spoken a good deal, and written still more. But let any one examine my speeches and publications with the greatest minuteness, and I defy him to shew that I ever expressed a sentiment contrary to what I now utter. Those principles, Sir, compel me to disapprove of this measure; I cannot consent to see the system of agriculture changed; I cannot consent to see a man obliged to pay a premium against himself. It makes little difference whether the people pay more for the potatoes, or pay an additional tax for a bounty to produce them. But it is idle thus to think of lowering the price. If you wish to promote the comfort of the poor, raise as speedily as possible the price of labour. It is far too low, and must soon rise in spite of you. Though not young, I am not very old, and within my recollection the price of labour has been trebled. Effects will still follow causes, and it must soon advance much further. Why then struggle against a necessity which no human power can controul, and no human ingenuity elude? Where will the storm fall? I allow it must at last fall somewhere, and I say it must fall upon the public creditor. A man lends 100*l.* to government, and gets three per cent for it. If the quartern loaf is at 6d. he gets 120 loaves a year, but *now* he gets only forty or fifty, and in a short time he may not get twenty. Thus, in the course of things he may be altogether ruined. The poor will not ultimately suffer, for their wages will be increased in proportion. The landed interest will not suffer, for their rents will be increased in proportion. The revenue will not suffer, for in the same proportion the ability of the people to contribute will be encreased. The mischief will only fall upon the

the holders of stock, and as they are not a very numerous set of men, it will not be difficult to relieve them. These steps seem to be taken to prevent the monied interest from being alarmed. They certainly would be less willing to advance their money, but it is unfair thus to try to deceive them."

Mr. Tooke then entered into some calculations, to shew the propriety of raising the supplies within the year, and the dreadful consequences which must follow from the annual augmentations made to the national debt. He concluded by apologizing for so long occupying the time of the committee, and expressed a hope "that his errors might lead some one to the discovery of truth." The House then divided.—Ayes 39—Noes 44—Majority 5.

On Tuesday, March 10, 1801, Lord Temple rose in his place, to make to his long promised motion relative to Mr. Tooke's *eligibility*, and began by professing, "That nothing but his duty to the house, and respect for its institutions, *along with his regard for the representation of the people*, could have impelled him to undertake so arduous a discussion. He also professed that he entertained no personal animosity against Mr. T. whom he was pleased to designate by the term of "Reverend Gentleman."

To attack a person of such strong mind and abilities upon such a subject, was a bold attempt, but he had such proofs of ineligibility against him, that it was impossible to fail. Whatever might be the ultimate opinion of the house, he should be consoled by the recollection of having discharged his duty as became him. The question must be decided by the rules of the constitution made by our ancestors; by those rules the people had been represented for centuries. If the house considered themselves, which he trusted they would, the guardians of the people's rights and liberties, they would at the same time recollect

collect that those rights and liberties were sacred deposits, which they were bound to protect against all innovation, and to transmit them pure and unsullied as they had been received.

His Lordship then proceeded to state, that innovations were dangerous in most systems, but particularly in those which had the sanction of ages in their favour: in this light stood the House of Commons of this country. One of the most solemn of its acts related to its own members, and the qualifications of those members—that act most expressly declares, in as plain and unequivocal language as words can express, *that no person who either is or has been in priest's orders, or held any office of the church, can possibly be a member of the House of Commons.* He should prove in the most clear and incontestible manner, that Mr. H. Tooke had received priest's orders; he should also make it equally clear, that he had discharged the functions vested in him by those orders, and when he had proved these facts, he trusted he had proved enough to induce the house to acquiesce in the motion he should afterwards make, of referring the investigation of other points to a committee. At present he should content himself with moving, "That William Bourchier, Esq. clerk of the diocese of Salisbury, be examined at the bar, whether or not Mr. Horne Tooke had received priest's orders, and whether or not he had exercised the clerical function, in consequence of having received these orders."

After a few words from Mr. Fox, in which he gave it as his opinion that the noble Lord had not made

out

out a case strong enough to go into evidence, and that it was rash and impolitic to discuss facts of the nature of which the house could not be aware, Mr. John Horne Tooke spoke as follows:

"Mr. Speaker,

"I rise to resist the motion which you lately put from the chair; not that I desire to delay the discussion of this question. My only wish is that the discussion may be full and fair. I am as eager as any one that complete information upon the subject may be received, and any proper motion that has this for its object, I shall willingly support. Before I enter into the question, I beg the house to recollect the previous proceedings. About three weeks ago the noble Lord gave notice, that if in the course of fifteen days no petition was presented to the house, he should make a motion with regard to the representation of Old Sarum. [Some one having called out "No!" Mr. T. exclaimed, "I say, yes!"] "This was the nature of the notice, and it is in the memory of the house, that it is as I have stated it. On the fifteenth and sixteenth days I attended in my place, but nothing whatever was said. On the seventeenth, I was obliged to be absent from severe indisposition, and when I came down on the eighteenth, I found that the noble Lord had given notice of a motion for the 10th of March, respecting the eligibility of "the Rev. John Horne Tooke." His lordship came up to me in a very polite manner, and handsomely told me what he had done. His conduct certainly, Sir, would have been more handsome, if subsequent proceedings had corresponded with this. When I asked him what the nature of his promised motion would be? he said there was a difficulty about it, as the Lawyers were not agreed. This was the eighteenth day after that on which I took my seat, and still the noble Lord and his advisers remained undetermined! His lordship, however, assured me, that if I should attend in my place next day, I should hear all the particulars, and when I mentioned my illness to him, he promised to inform me by letter. The following day I was able to attend in person, but no explanation took place. The noble Lord made a motion for calling witnesses to the bar. I told him I would save him the trouble, as I frankly confessed that I had been ordained a priest more than forty years ago. It was

was declared from the chair, that this would not be sufficient. For forty years I have been in the habit of attending to the proceedings of Parliament. I have been often present in this house; I have been called to your bar. I have been brought to it in the custody of the serjeant at arms. I must therefore know something of parliamentary forms; and I do not hesitate to declare, that it has always been the practice to receive admissions. Indeed what can this house have so worthy to be relied upon? It is never so well off as *habens confitentem reum*. You cannot administer an oath, and must be contented with simple affirmation. When an unhappy printer is brought to be examined, he is asked, whether he is guilty of printing the libel laid to his charge, and upon his confession, he is instantly sent where he deserves to go.

"I believe that fairness and justice call upon the house to repel this motion, unless the noble Lord shall explain more fully how he intends to proceed. He has not kept the promise which he made me. These lawyers I suspect, have advised him to break it. He says he would treat his most intimate acquaintance and dearest friend exactly in the same way. For his own sake, Sir, I hope that he would not. When he is moved neither by enmity nor profit, should he tamper with the lawyers to find out a flaw in other people's titles? I formerly gave credit to his professions: I now withdraw it, as it was improperly bestowed. I do not say that he is my personal enemy. I do not believe, Sir, that I have a personal enemy in the world. He bears towards me, Sir, violent political animosity.—[*A cry of order! order!*]—I beg pardon, Sir, if I am out of order; I am sure I should be sorry to be so, but it is not easy to remain cool after the manner in which the noble Lord has talked of my character, my politics, my principles, and my past conduct. He desired you to keep these out of view: I desire, Sir, that they may all be taken into consideration, the more they are scrutinized I shall be the better pleased. You are bound to consider these topics before you come to a just conclusion, and I am at a loss what could be the noble Lord's motive for giving you such advice.

"I apprehend that the lawyers are at the bottom of this motion of the noble Lord's. I know well the modes which these gentlemen pursue, in striving to accomplish their ends. Do not let me be misunderstood, Sir. I love and honor the profession. I had once

once a near prospect of becoming a member of it. About five and forty years ago, I believe the very term in which the present Chief Justice of the King's Bench entered as a student, I myself was enrolled. I reverence the profession of the lawyers, I wish to God I could always approve of their practice. Their motto I must say, however, is *dolus an virtus*. About the justice of the cause in which they engage, they are not over solicitous, nor are they very scrupulous about the means they employ to gain their ends. The seem here to have wished to make a jumble, a bustle, and a scramble, and by throwing every thing into confusion to get a lumping vote. From the practice, I must necessarily infer, that this has been the advice, and that these have been the advisers.

"The result of this discussion is of no great consequence to me. However, I reckon myself bound to resist acts of injustice and oppression, that they may not be drawn into a precedent.

"I shall therefore state the question, and nothing more on my part I trust will be necessary. I shall be able, I hope, to place it in so clear a light, that it will be understood by any country gentleman, or even by any lady, as well as the profoundest lawyer. If the house is to determine whether a person who has once been in orders can sit here, it is their duty first to consider whether there is any specific law against it. That this question must be decided in the negative is pretty clear, from the line of conduct which has been pursued this day. To what other law are you next to resort? You surely will not rely implicitly upon the opinions of counsel, however highly you may think of their knowledge, integrity, and disinterestedness.

"Five questions immediately present themselves, for this grand question is the fruitful mother of many more. I should be very happy, Sir, if all these five were decided against me, for if one of them is decided in my favour all is lost, *ipso facto*, down go the contest and the controversy. The question is at present so confused and perplexed, that all must be puzzled with it. It puzzled me, Sir, for some time: at last I succeeded in reducing it to distinct heads. We must now have recourse to the Canon law; and ask, in the first place, whether the Canon law legally binds the proceedings of the house? I have no intention whatever, Sir, to discuss the point. I merely wish to shew the enquiries the house must enter into, before they come to a determination.

"We

"We next examine whether the Canon law is binding upon the clergy in the profession and out of it, in their civil as well as religious capacity? In the third place, is the Canon law binding upon me, who have long ceased to officiate as a priest, and have laid long down that sacred character? Two others still remain behind equally difficult of solution, and equally necessary to be solved. Is it possible for any one who has once entered into holy orders again to become one of the laity, or is it once a captain and always a captain! I know there are three canons on this subject: —One says a clergyman shall not bear arms; another, a clergyman shall not be a civil magistrate; and a third, that a clergyman shall not use himself as a layman. Clerical representatives of the people have not certainly been very common, but we have clerical volunteers, and clerical justices of the peace. The two first canons are therefore kept back, and the last only is relied on. It is then to be determined whether a clergyman by having a seat in the house, does or does not use himself as a layman. I said I would not argue these points: I throw out these things for the consideration of the learned gentlemen over the way, and I wish them fully to consider this statement. I have great faith to put in their opinion, let them therefore declare their judgment before the house comes to a final decision.

"Having said so, I cannot help adverting to some things that fell from the noble Lord. It must be allowed that he displayed a liberal, generous, and elevated spirit! At the same time, I hope the house will pay little regard to his *boasted stake* in the country. I too have a stake in the country, and a deep stake; it is not stolen to be sure from *the public hedge*, for I planted it myself. This stake Sir, I would not exchange for all the *notes* of the noble Lord, together with the *notes* of all his connections. In this too I think mine is different from his, and far to be preferred to it: his cannot be increased without detracting from the public stock. Mine is my character, and I cannot add to it without having added to the information, comfort, and happiness of the people."

Lord Temple having persevered in his intentions, witnesses were accordingly called to the bar, and examined relative to the fact of Mr. Tooke's having been in priest's orders. On the 4th of May, the same noble-

man

man moved "*the order of the day*," for the house to take into consideration the report of the Committee on the eligibility of Mr. Tooke to sit in Parliament." This being done, after some prefatory compliments to the Committee, and particularly the Chairman,* his lordship went at large into the question, and endeavoured to prove from the records, that no clergyman was entitled to have a seat in that house, and consequently that Mr. Tooke was ineligible. After this, he concluded by moving, "That the Speaker do issue a new writ for the borough of Old Sarum, in the room of the Rev. John Horne Tooke, who was ineligible, being in holy orders."

Mr. Tooke began by observing, that he had had but two struggles in his life before the present, which were in any shape personal. The first was, when he applied for the degree of A. M. "which by the way," he added, "a great dog could obtain, if made to articulate *probo aliter*;" and the second, when a *doubting* set of benchers rejected his claim of admission to the bar, without any reference to law or precedent.

In regard to the present occasion, how it might end he knew not; but for the sake of others, he would maintain his right; in respect to himself, he was not in the least anxious about the privileges of his seat, as he *owed no money*.

He then animadverted on the unparliamentary conduct of the Committee, *in delegating their delegated powers* to others, to examine old records: the result of the search was, that *Clerc*, (an epithet ap-

* Mr. Abbot.

plied in those days to any person who could read,) signified a clergyman. He asserted that the Committee did not even understand the Saxon characters, and remarked, that in quoting *twenty one cases*, they had made no less than *eleven* mistakes.

He next combated the doctrine, that he could not lay down his function as a priest; which doctrine, he thought, must appear futile, when it was recollected that there were many Canons that dwelt on the deposition of priests "One of these states," added he, "that if any clergyman attempted to cast out devils unlawfully, such person should be deposed. Now for example, Mr. Speaker! if I had attempted to cast the devil out of this house, I must have been deposed, and of course been deemed eligible. But in this case my only crime is my innocence—my only guilt, that of not having scandalized my order. I feel myself, Sir, exactly in the situation of the girl who applied for reception into the Magdalen. On being asked respecting the particulars of her misfortune, she answered she was as innocent as the child unborn: the reply was—"This is a place only for the creatures of *prostitution*, you must go and qualify yourself before you can be admitted."

After Mr. Fox and Mr. Erskine had delivered their sentiments in opposition to the motion, Mr. Addington, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, very unexpectedly arose, and moved the *previous* question, on which a division took place, and it was carried by a majority of 41.

As the subject of contention was thus left still *afloat*, Mr.

Mr. Addington on the 6th of May, by a still bolder measure than that of Lord Temple, brought in a bill "to remove all doubts relative to the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the Commons House of Parliament." While this was before a committee, Mr. T. moved the following clause: "That every person in holy orders, on accepting a seat in that house, shall thenceforward be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying, any living, or ecclesiastical promotion; and further, that he be incapable of holding any place or office of honour or profit under his Majesty." This amendment however was negatived, and the bill carried up to the House of Peers, where it met with but little opposition, except from Lord Thurlow.

In consequence of an express clause in this bill, the penalties annexed do not attach during the short remaining period that the present parliament is by law entitled to sit: the member for Old Sarum may therefore continue to vote and speak while *this* House of Commons subsists, as usual, but it is expressly enacted that he shall not be eligible during any future one.

Mr. Tooke is now about sixty-five years of age, having been born either in or near the year 1736. When a young man, he was accustomed to dress genteelly; and as he possessed a good person and agreeable manners, displayed much of the look and mien of a person of fashion. In addition to this, having kept company with people of distinction, and made the *grand*

tour twice, it is not at all surprising, that his conduct and behaviour should exhibit the model of a finished gentleman. Of late years he has left off powder, and this circumstance adds not *a* little to the appearance of age, in consequence of that *venerable* idea which grey heirs are always calculated to inspire; he is still remarkably clean and neat in every thing respecting his person.

No man in this country is better calculated to shine in company. So various are his powers, that he can either convey information to a society of philosophers, and throw new lights on every subject introduced, for the purpose of discussion; or he is able to fascinate a brilliant circle with his wit, and set the convivial board " in a roar" by his merriment. Nor is it to one sex that the idea of his excellence is confined: the ladies are far from being insusceptible to the charms of his conversation; he is capable of all the little attentions that captivate the female world; he exhibits that decorous good breeding that bewitches even virtue, and in his respectful conduct to the *sex*, still keeps up all that is amiable in the *old*, while he avoids every thing disgusting in the new school.

In respect to fortune, it is understood, that Mr. T. is heir to a very considerable one, and that his circumstances have of late been rendered comfortable, in consequence of the interposition of his friends.

No man's principles have been more uniform than those of John Horne Tooke, and if he has not *died*, he

he has at least lived a martyr to them. No man's character has ever been less understood. Many, while alluding to his name, conceive the idea of a furious declaimer replete with anger and revenge, and thirsting after the perdition of all that is good and virtuous among us. They represent to their terrified imaginations a man of squalid appearance, and intemperate manners, and would be astonished to discover the scholar rising above his age and nation; the politician blending the patriot and the statesman together, and the man of breeding exhibiting the courtier's grace, without any of his insincerity.

GENERAL BOWLES.

A QUESTION equally novel and important, has been frequently agitated in modern times, and we believe it to be one of the few speculative propositions, which never occupied the attention of the ancient world. The subject we allude to, is: "Whether man be happier in the savage or civilized state?" The *philosopher of Geneva* contends for the superiority of savage life, and it is not a little remarkable, that although many, and among others the subject of the present memoir, have returned from choice to their native words, whence mankind are supposed to have first emerged, yet no denizen of the forest was ever known to remain without constraint, within the pale of society. On the contrary, all of them have seized the first opportunity to throw off their finery, and re-

lapse with ecstatic rapture, into their ancient habits and pursuits.*

General Bowles, the subject of this memoir, is a native of America. His father was an Englishman, who settled on the Trans-Atlantic continent, and acquired considerable wealth there. He was the brother of the well-known Mr. Carrington Bowles, print-seller in St. Paul's church-yard, and having conceived the idea of meliorating his fortune by emigrating into a new country, he repaired to Maryland in the capacity of a schoolmaster, and resided for many years in Frederic county in that province, where he acquired a plantation, obtained some wealth, and was invested with a public office of considerable trust.†

William Augustus Bowles, his eldest son, was born in Frederic county in Maryland about the year 1764. Of his early education we have never been able to learn any particulars, but it is most likely that it was such as might be expected amidst the wilds and forests, at a distance from "the haunts of men." Every deficiency of this kind has been since, in some measure, supplied by the natural talents of this untutored native of the back settlements of America.

We know however, with certainty, that he was but

* The most recent instance of this kind, at least in Europe, is that of a youth caught in one of the forests of the department of *l'Aveyron*, and who, although kindly treated and fed, has escaped repeatedly into the woods. He is now under the care of the celebrated Abbé Sicard. For the particulars, the reader may consult a pamphlet entitled: "Notice historique sur le Sauvage de l'Aveyron." Paris, 1800.

† Either that of *clerk*, *or deputy clerk of the county*.

a boy

a boy when that unhappy and disastrous war, which severed America from Britain, unfortunately burst forth. Fascinated from his cradle with the idea of a military life, when but thirteen years of age, he fled from under the paternal roof, and determined to gratify his romantic wishes. It were vain to enquire whether he was stimulated upon this occasion, by a partiality for the English name, or an innate love of enterprize: it is indeed evident that he had not obtained that maturity of judgment, which could alone have enabled him to weigh and determine the justice of the contest. Thus far is however certain, that after surmounting a variety of difficulties, and undergoing the almost incredible fatigues of a long march through the woods, he arrived safe in the British camp at Philadelphia.

Unknown and unprotected, he was reduced to the necessity of entering into an old regiment of foot, where he was received *as a volunteer*, a term by which it is not meant to convey, as it usually does, the idea of a common soldier, but that of a young man serving in hopes of *promotion*. Soon after this, he obtained a commission in a *corps** commanded by Lieutenant Colonel James Chalmers, a gentleman of considerable property and influence in his native province, and who had displayed much zeal in the cause of Great Britain.

When the English army was at length forced by a variety of untoward circumstances, to make a retro-

* The Maryland loyalists.

grade motion from the capital of Pennsylvania, Mr. Bowles accompanied his regiment as a subaltern, and served along with the flank companies at the engagement commonly called the battle of Monmouth.

Towards the autumn of 1778, he embarked for the island of Jamaica, and afterwards proceeded to Pensacola, in West Florida. At the latter place he was deprived of his commission, and dismissed from the British army, in consequence of some neglect or inattention, which we are neither prepared nor inclined to scrutinize. Having been brought up amidst the forests of the frontier, this young man was unaccustomed to restraint, and unused to subordination. The prompt obedience, inculcated by our mode of discipline, appeared to be fatiguing and disgustful. He could never bring his mind to enter into the *minutiæ*, which the situation of a subaltern renders necessary in a well appointed European army, and it has been suggested by his friends, that he felt something within himself that taught him to believe he was fitted to *command*, rather than to *obey*. Certain it is, that he evinced no great alacrity in respect to the latter qualification, while on the other hand, he at length justified the hopes, and realized the ambitious projects, to which he deemed himself destined to aspire.

Bowles submitted to his fate, not merely with a manly fortitude, but even with the appearance of joy; instead of attempting to deprecate the melancholy lot which seemed to await him, he appeared gay, unconcerned, and happy at having regained his liberty. It

It is thus that he is described at this period by a brother officer, who has drawn up a memoir* relative to the early part of his life.

"Behold then this disbanded young soldier—his last shilling gone—too proud to beg, and too independent to stoop to menial offices—an uncultivated and savage country around him, no guide but chance, and no resource but his own fortitude: behold him on the brink of apparently inevitable ruin!

But fortune, whose peculiar care he seems to have been, stepped in to save him. A party of the Creek nation were on their return home from Pensacola, whither they had come to receive their annual presents; and young Bowles, delighted with the novelty of situation now opened to him, joined the party, having thrown his regimental coat, in contempt of his oppressors, into the sea.

A situation so flattering to the independence natural to the heart of man, had doubtless many attractions. But whether through the sameness of the scene, or a restlessness of disposition constitutional in him, or actuated through pride to shew himself once more among those who had reduced him to the appearance of a savage, he left his protectors, after having resided with them a few months, (probably with an intention to return) and came unattended to Pensacola. When he arrived on the opposite shore of the bay, he found a hogshead, which some British ship had left behind them; and Bowles, impatient of delay, without waiting for any other conveyance, like an Esquimaux, with the difference of a hogshead for a boat, the branch of a tree his mast, a blanket his sail, and a few stones his ballast, navigated the extensive shores of the harbour; in the day, procuring the food of life, and beguiling the tediousness of time by fowling and fishing, and at night regaling on his prey; the sky his canopy, and the earth his bed.

"In this very hogshead, perhaps, his bosom first throbbed with the desire of nautical knowledge; and here also he first had occasion

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* Authentic memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esq. Ambassador from the united nations of Creeks and Cherokees, to the Court of London." 1791, Faulder.

occasion to seek for resources in himself alone; resources which at some future day were to shield him in the hour of danger, and which alone could complete him for the leader of a brave and gallant nation*.

"Here it was that the author first remembers to have seen him: his curiosity from that time was strongly awakened concerning so singular a character; and his mind then presaged the daring actions, some of which the author has witnessed, which have since distinguished the *Beloved Warrior* †.

"But this precarious and hazardous livelihood did not last long. The frost of 1779 will be long remembered in the Floridas; and young Bowles, almost naked, superior to the injuries of men, found in the elements an enemy that neither strength of constitution nor fortitude of mind could withstand. He wanted shelter, and it was not long before he received it. Among the inhabitants of the town who saw his situation, there was one, a baker by profession, who had a heart to commiserate and relieve him,

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* "It may not be unnecessary to observe, that the Creek nations, divided into Upper and Lower Creeks, are the acknowledged superiors of all the North American tribes.

"The country of Creeks and Cherokees, as laid down in Governor Pownall's map, is comprised between the 30th and 37th degree of north latitude, and between the 83d and 90th of west longitude from Greenwich; bounded on the east by Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia; on the south by West Florida; on the west by the Mississipi, from the confluence on the Ohio. This country, extending a thousand miles in length and several hundred in breadth, is, if we may judge of it by its productions, of the richest soil in North America; and not only the various fruits of the tropics, but those of more northern climes, grow here in the utmost perfection. Wheat, cotton, indigo, rice, tobacco, and corn of all kinds, when cultivated, produce the most abundant harvest.

"The climate, cooled by the nitrous particles of the air, is superior to the south of France, and less oppressive than Italy or Asia Minor."

† By this appellation he is universally known to the nations.

him. Under the roof of this hospitable stranger he remained the greatest part of the winter, who finding him a strong and robust lad, thought it but reasonable that he should assist to make the bread which he so plentifully ate.

"Highly impressed, as no doubt he was, with a sense of obligation for such unmerited goodness, an aversion to labour, peculiar to the habits in which he had so lately indulged, made him reject the proposal, and he would again have been exposed to all his former dangers, but for his old friends the Creeks.

"The extraordinary inclemency of the season had brought them down for presents; and Bowles once more returned with them, and remained near two years. The friendly character of North American savages, when not irritated by resentment, or made sanguinary through thirst of revenge, is well known. During this period, such was their mutual regard, that he strengthened the ties of friendship by marrying a daughter of one of their chiefs. Thus he became doubly united to them, both from inclination and the ties of blood; and his children were living pledges of their father's fidelity.

"Habit had now confirmed his predilection for a state of nature; and, on the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and Spain, he was thought worthy of being enrolled among the fighting men of this warlike nation. Nor did he discredit their choice. His conduct throughout the war was eminently distinguished for coolness and vigour in action; and the most venerable chiefs pointed him out as an example worthy of imitation."

Bowles, having acquired considerable authority among the savages, who had adopted him into their tribe at the very period when he was considered as a miserable outcast by those with whom he had been brought up, determined nevertheless to make use of all his influence for the advantage of the English nation. He accordingly collected a body of Indians, marched to the succour of Pensacola, then menaced by

by the Spaniards, and was of considerable service during the siege. He distinguished himself indeed on several occasions, particularly at a *sortie* made by only ninety-six rank and file provincial troops, at twelve at noon, on the enemy's lines, when they carried the advanced post with the loss of only one soldier. Fifty, out of seven hundred men in the works, were killed by the bayonet alone, besides numbers who were shot flying along the trenches. The officers of the Irish brigade conducted themselves with their accustomed bravery on this occasion, maintaining their ground, although literally *trod down* by the retreating Spaniards, while those who fell in the conflict were seen fighting to the last with their small swords!

But the career of this singular man was nearly terminated by one of those numerous accidents to which soldiers are ever liable during a siege. A few days after the memorable sally alluded to above, the British advanced redoubt happened to be blown up, just as Mr. Bowles was entering it, and had this misfortune but occurred a few seconds sooner, he must have inevitably perished. But although he escaped unhurt, he experienced the painful sensation arising from the destruction of an hundred men within a few yards of him!

Nor were Mr. Bowles's services wholly unrequited, for he was now reinstated in his former rank in the British army by General Campbell, and on the reduction of West Florida was allowed to retire with the

the garrison to New York, where he continued until duly exchanged in the course of the following year.

It would be unpardonable here to omit another military adventure in which he was engaged. In the year 1780 a small detachment was sent from Pensacola to the bay of Mobile, with an intention of surprising a Spanish fortified village of the same name.

Bowles, along with several hundred Indians, joined the party, he himself in dress and figure so exactly resembling a savage warrior, that unless he had discovered himself, he would never have been recognized by his old acquaintances, several of whom served in this expedition. At day-light, in the morning of the 7th of January, the signal being given to commence the assault, the young American left his tribe to fight after their own manner, and rushed on with the British troops. This small body, consisting of no more than fifty soldiers, forced the Spanish works, and actually carried them, in opposition to four hundred of the enemy, who attempted to escape on board an armed vessel; but they were intercepted by the Indians, who killed many of them after they had reached the boats.

This very circumstance, however, probably contributed not a little to the miscarriage of the enterprise, for the flight of the garrison being thus precluded, the troops composing it took shelter in their barracks, whence they fired with equal safety and success at such of the British soldiers as had not perished in the assault; for by this time more than one half of the original detachment had been cut off.

In

In the midst of the tumult, carnage, and confusion which ensued, Bowles was employed in taking aim coolly and deliberately with his *rifle* at the enemy stationed at the windows: after this he posted himself behind a tree, loading and firing alone; but he was at length dislodged by a cannon-ball, which shivered the body and branches, and compelled him also to retreat along with his remaining companions, now in full march homewards.

He however had not the good fortune to be beloved so much in the regiment to which he now again belonged as he was among the Indians, for he was soon after this put under arrest, in consequence of menacing a superior officer, and between twenty and thirty articles were exhibited against him before a general court martial. On his trial several friends stepped forward in his behalf, and the whole ended in his acquittal.

Having about this time received Lord Dorchester's permission, he set out to visit his father, with whom however he did not remain long; thence he repaired to and rejoined his adopted brethren the Creeks, in East Florida, by whom he was once more received with open arms. With these he resided during a whole twelvemonth, and, although no more than nineteen years of age, he appears at this period to have meditated schemes of ambition, which conducted him at length to the important situation of leader of his nation. Even now he acquired their esteem by his knowledge of military discipline and European tactics, and left them deeply impressed

both

both with respect for his talents and affection for his person.

After exploring the coasts of the two Floridas, he first visited the southern states of America, and then repaired to the Bahamas, where he displayed the versatility of his talents by acting plays, chiefly for the relief of the families of the American loyalists who had been forced to take shelter there. On this occasion he actually ornamented the scenes with his own hand, and, when his resources failed, he supplied his wants by assuming the character of a portrait painter; but, as New Providence did not at that time possess the proper colours for his likenesses, he himself turned chemist, and *created* them. In addition to the accomplishments of acting and painting, this self-taught genius made himself master of the rudiments of music, and became a tolerable proficient in that science.

But amidst pursuits of this kind, Mr. Bowles was not inattentive to matters of higher concern. Having at length obtained a quantity of warlike stores, and a vessel to transport them, he repaired to the continent, and being joined by a strong detachment of Creeks, waited in the neighbourhood of St. Mark's, in the bay of Appalaha, for the arrival of his supplies. The Spanish governor of the adjacent fort affected to be greatly alarmed, but on a remonstrance on the part of Bowles, accompanied with a threat, that in case of any opposition he would be attacked by the savages, the cargo was permitted to be landed, and was soon after conveyed by horses, brought down expressly

expressly for that purpose, into the interior of the country. It seems to have been his intention to form a magazine for the supply of the Creeks and Cherokees with arms and ammunition, with a view of penetrating into the Spanish dominions in South America, and waging perpetual war with a nation against whom both he and they bore the most implacable enmity. In the course of this project he made several voyages to the Bahamas, in one of which he carried over five chiefs along with him. On his return home with the warriors, in a vessel purchased on his own account, he experienced a variety of disasters; but, after losing a mast, and encountering a dreadful storm, he at length arrived at the place of his destination. Having landed his supplies, he now determined to instruct his companions in the art of navigation, and for this purpose made several excursions into the gulf of Florida. In one of these he was attacked by a *Guarda Costa*, cruising for the express purpose of intercepting him; for the Spanish governors in America had conceived the idea that he was about not only to establish an independent power in Florida, but even intended to create a maritime state. They had accordingly resorted to unwarrantable expedients, in order to apprehend, or rather to betray and murder him, having offered a reward of six thousand dollars, and fifteen hundred kegs of *tafia*, a species of rum distilled from molasses, for his head *.

* Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esq. Ambassador from the United Nations of Creeks and Cherokees to the Court of London," p. 63.

Bowles on this occasion had recourse to stratagem, for, on being fired at, he immediately slackened sail, on which the Spanish captain ordered his launch to be hoisted out, in order to take possession of his prize; but no sooner did the boat approach with intent to board him, than the Indian chief returned a broadside from six four pounders, hitherto masked from view. So warm and so unexpected a reception forced the Spaniards to abandon their enterprise, and allowed time to the warriors to return in safety.

Mr. Bowles had by this time acquired great influence among the Indians, as may appear from the degree of confidence in which he was held, and the high offices to which he was now elevated. Although the title of *first Counsellor* was considered as hereditary among the Creeks, yet upon the present occasion they departed from the principles that usually regulated their conduct, and conferred it upon him: he was also elected commander in chief of their armies by acclamation; thus uniting in his own person two great and important offices, which perhaps in no association, whether of savage or civilised men, ought ever to be joined together.

This sudden elevation, on the part of an unprotected youth, who, when destitute of health, of food, and of clothing, had been generously adopted by an erratic tribe of Indians, of course exposed him to the jealousy of many other warriors, and even at times endangered his existence. But this was not all; the Creeks had disputes with the United States relative to boundaries, and the influence of a rival chief, of the

name of M'Gillavray, a white man and a native of Georgia, was supported by them, in opposition to that of Bowles, who had ever declared himself, in the most express and decisive manner, attached to the cause and fortunes of England alone *. His worst enemies,

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* It would appear, by a manuscript written by Mr. Bowles, and submitted to the perusal of the Editor by a gentleman of high respectability, that the alliance between the King of England and the Creek nation has been of considerable duration. The first treaty was formed in the month of January 1700, and a war prosecuted against Spain for some years afterwards. The same was renewed, as occasion required, in 1752, 1764, 1768, 1773, and 1778, by the last of which they were engaged in hostilities against the revolted colonies.

"In the year 1783," says Mr. B. "a treaty of peace was concluded between the belligerent powers, and the British colonies in America were declared free and independent states; but, although the Creeks were engaged by Great Britain in the war as allies, yet no terms were made for them, nor their name mentioned in the treaty of peace. On the contrary, the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, with the American and Spanish ministers, drew a line west from the lakes of Canada to the river Mississippi, down the middle of the said river, to the 32d degree of north latitude; then due east (through the Creek country) to the head of the river St. Mary's, down the said river, to the Atlantic ocean, saying, *that all the land to the north of the said line we do cede to the United States of America, and to the south we cede to his Majesty the King of Spain*; without attending to the local situation of the Creeks, and without regarding in any manner the treaty of alliance subsisting between his Britannic Majesty and the Creek nation; without defining what right his Majesty had over the said territory, or what he ceded to the two powers: thereby creating a mystery, and furnishing the enemies of the Creeks with a pretence to provoke wars, disseminate discord, to make

enemies, however, were the Spaniards, and they constantly attempted by their emissaries to assail the character

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make parties, in order if possible to dispossess the Creeks of the territory they inherited from their ancestors, and of which by the laws and dispositions of Providence they were the sovereign lords and owners.

"The Creek nation have defended their country against the alternate attacks of the Spanish and French nations, previous and after the conquest of Mexico, until the present time; and, although they were left by their allies, they, confiding in their own force, with the assistance of the Great Ruler of the world, determined not to give up any part of their territory or rights, but to defend them against all nations that might attempt to dispossess them.

"The American states, exasperated against us," adds he, "at the part we bore in the war, and insolent by having obtained their independence, feeling the situation in which we were left by our allies, appeared to meditate designs against us of a hostile and alarming nature.

"At my return from the British army at New York (at which I had been for two years, and had obtained some knowledge of European tactics), my youth did not permit me to a seat among the chiefs of the national council. I employed myself in encouraging agriculture, and in infusing a spirit of honest industry into the minds of the more moderate around me; I also instructed the young men in the use of the different instruments of war, as well as the advantages of military discipline. To this end I frequently drew out parties into the desert under pretext of hunting, composed at different times of from one to seven hundred men. My marches were always conducted with military order, my camps regularly formed with the necessary guards, piquets, &c. As if I had been in an enemy's country, I laid ambuscades, planned sham battles, and endeavoured to show them that the strength of an army consisted in the union and co-operation of all its parts, thereby to destroy that independence which arises from

racter of that man whose head they had devoted to proscription.

He was consoled, however, on the other hand, by the possession of great influence in the councils, and

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from a reliance on personal agility and individual strength; to bring them by degrees to bear to be commanded, to rely on the chief for the preservation of the whole, and only act agreeably to his orders. I also established a manufacture of porcelain, or earthen-ware, for house use; and thus, by dividing my attention to a number of objects, and appearing steady to none, I avoided creating jealousies. People were pleased with my *pipkins*, while they thought me a flighty young man, who never once seriously reflected upon any thing, therefore was never dangerous.

"But observing that the state of Georgia had, and still kept up, an appearance of hostilities, while nothing decisive could be obtained of them touching the cause, and that expresses were constantly passing to and from Alexander M'Gillivrey, the contents of which were never communicated fully to the chiefs; but, on the contrary, an apparent duplicity appeared in his answers to them, when I urged that they should demand information of him, &c. &c.

"In the latter end of 1785, after consulting with some of the chiefs, I departed secretly, and attended the meeting of the Assembly at Augusta, in February 1786, where I made myself acquainted with the prominent characters of the state; heard their debates in the house of Assembly respecting war with us; informed myself of the force they could bring into the field, the quantity of arms, ammunition, &c. they had in their magazines, and then returned home, satisfied we had nothing to fear from the attacks of the state of Georgia, &c. &c.

"Perceiving, however, the spirit of enterprise, &c. arising there, I represented to the chiefs how necessary it was to fortify ourselves against the growing power of a state which insolently threatened us at that time, when we might have destroyed them in a week; I proposed uniting all the Indian nations in one common

and a high situation in the armies, of a powerful tribe of warriors, whose destiny he in some measure regulated, while he at the same time was respected by all the Indian nations from Florida to the utmost extremities of Canada, among whom he had sent his emissaries for the purpose of forming a common league against their oppressors. In such high repute was his influence held in the neighbouring co-

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mon cause against the common enemy. The policy was adopted, and persons were appointed and sent to negotiate with the nations as far as the lakes of Canada. In the mean while, with as much privacy as possible, I examined the state of our magazines, taught some of our people the art of making saltpetre, established a small manufactory for that purpose, collected all the money I could, and went first to St. Augustine, and thence to Providence, where I purchased all the powder and ball I could procure, and in April 1787 landed it safe in my country, after which it was deposited in the different magazines. This little expedition made much noise; exaggerated accounts of it were published in the Bahama newspapers, and one of the partners of the house of ——— went so far as to say, that I had connected myself with Lord Dunmore, the governor of the Bahamas, and that he had furnished me with a quantity of arms and ammunition from the King's stores, &c. &c.

"During my absence the governor of Pensacola had proposed a treaty with the chiefs, which was communicated by M'G. and managed by him, &c. at Pensacola. A number of silver medals were given by the governor on the part of the King of Spain, accompanied with certificates of their being chiefs of the creeks; they were also supplied with powder and small arms, and encouraged to prosecute the war with the Georgians, &c. I stated to the chiefs the great impropriety of receiving such medals, certificates, and ammunition, from the Spanish King, and proposed that the medals should be returned, which was accordingly done."

lony of Georgia, that proposals were made to him in 1788 to become a member of the Yago and Tenesee company, in which case he was to receive 200,000 acres of land, all of which proffers were rejected.

He had always opposed the petty hostilities carried on on the frontiers by straggling parties for the sake of plunder, considering it as disgraceful to the nation, but he was unable to prevent it until 1789, when on his being appointed war chief, he put a final stop to these predatory enterprizes, by ordering all the parties in, and declaring himself determined to punish all those who dared to cross the frontier lines, without his express orders.

"I represented to the chiefs of the council," says he according to a paper now before the editor, "the ignominy attending such a plan; that if we had any point in view at any time to obtain from the Americans, which they refused to comply with, and it was necessary to make war in order to compel them, it ought to be carried on with vigour as warriors, and not as thieves and robbers, until that point was gained; but that I saw no point in dispute between us and the state of Georgia, nor any grounds for a war except those on which it had been prosecuted so long, namely, to satisfy the avarice of a monopolizing set of merchants, who found it to their advantage in keeping our frontiers shut against the Americans, and thus securing the profits of our commerce to themselves.

"I added, that it was our interest to cultivate peace, but that in case of a war, the alliances already formed with the other nations would enable us to resist the forces of our enemies, and even compel them to be good neighbours. Meanwhile, we ought to turn our attention towards the sea-coast. We had harbours; we had materials to build ships, and we had productions that were in demand among other nations. It was a duty incumbent on our chiefs and head men to regard seriously such objects as promised a national benefit; that commerce alone could effectually remedy the evils to which we were exposed, as it would enable us

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to supply ourselves with those things we stood in need of, by a fair exchange of one commodity for another, and consequently make us independent of all parties; that I foresaw some difficulties in our way to a free trade, but that those difficulties would naturally give way, as we advanced in the improvement of agriculture and the arts, in which we had already made considerable progress; that it required no extraordinary exertions, but only firmness in our councils to restrain the idle and the ill-disposed among us, from committing depredations on our frontiers, and to encourage the well-disposed in the pursuits of honest industry."

This quotation at least evinces that Bowles had by this time turned his mind towards matters of the utmost moment to his tribe; it also proves that he had begun to meditate and reflect like a politician, and it serves to demonstrate that he was not deficient in that sagacity which is intimately connected with the art of governing to advantage.

An event occurred about this period, which while it held out a fair opportunity for the Creeks to distinguish themselves, and reap the rewards due to their valour, at the same time promised to indulge the ambition, and gratify the spirit of enterprize, for which their chief was so peculiarly distinguished. The discoveries of the great circumnavigator Cook, in addition to the treasures presented to science, opened the way to certain commercial speculations, in which there were not wanting many who embarked with all that eagerness which the love of gain so powerfully impresses on the minds of a trading nation. The malversation of a foreign commander, the consequent losses of a few private adventurers, added to that national rivalry, but too apt to blaze forth upon all occasions, produced considerable sensation, and all the horrors of war were about to be perpetrated upon each

 other

other by two civilized European nations, concerning the "catskins" of Nootka sound, a paltry insignificant spot, on the south west coast of America.

But the insignificance of the circumstance that gave rise to this contest, does not in the least detract from the merits of those who remained faithful to the interests, and were ready to shed their blood in behalf of the cause of Great Britain. This was precisely the case with her Indian allies, notwithstanding a variety of arts were practised in order to abate their attachments; for no sooner did the chief of the united nations of Creeks and Cherokees learn that hostilities were likely to commence, than he called a meeting of his own and the neighbouring tribes, and such was the hatred to Spain on one side, and the affection for England on the other, that they instantly and unanimously resolved to send a deputation to the *nearest* of his Britannic majesty's governments, with an offer of their services. General Bowles, (for so he was now called,) was accordingly selected for this purpose, and he was accompanied on the present occasion by three other chiefs, one of whom called Uniotowy, afterwards repaired with him to this country on a similar mission. These were instructed in the first place, to inquire whether the *talks* of the Spanish and American officers in their neighbourhood, stating that they were abandoned by England was true; in the next to proffer the assistance of an Indian force, amounting to several thousand men, and lastly, to request an immediate supply of arms and ammunition.

A vessel having been procured for the chiefs and their retinue, they sailed for the Bahamas, which

which on account of their proximity, afforded a more ready intercourse than any of our other settlements, and having waited on Lord Dunmore, then governor, they were received with great hospitality, and fulfilled the purposes of their embassy with due decorum and solemnity. They happened to arrive indeed at a very critical period, for the grand question of peace or war was as yet undecided; it was therefore highly politic to retain the friendship, and conciliate the affections, of the tribes bordering on the Spanish settlements. Were they permitted to depart discontented, their future assistance could not be expected, and it appeared to be the most prudent as well as the most efficacious plan, to cherish their hopes, reward their fidelity, and keep their zeal alive by means of new favours. But certain difficulties occurred on the present occasion, which appeared to be insurmountable, and had it not been for the patriotism and public spirit of a gentleman in that colony, Bowles might have returned home along with his brother chiefs, with his consequence diminished, his authority lessened, and his power perhaps totally annihilated on his landing in America, without the expected supplies for his tribe. But this was not all, for the connexion between Great Britain and the Indian nations on the continent might have been dissolved for ever, and instead of leaguing against Spain, they might have acted under her influence, and been guided by her counsels.

In this dilemma he applied to the Hon. John Miller, a member of the council of the Bahamas, whose friendship

friendship he had before experienced; and it appeared by the event, that the munificence and public spirit of this gentleman, had not been miscalculated by him. Mr. Miller, who himself experienced great injustice at the hands of the Spaniards on the capture of the Bahamas* during the American war, was perfectly acquainted with their policy, and being endowed with no common share of enterprize and discernment, he instantly perceived, that in case of a new contest with his Catholic majesty, his native country might be enabled to resume possession of the Floridas, which had been wrested from her in so shameful a manner, in consequence of the intervention of this chief, and the active co-operation of the Indian nations, over whom he retained an almost unlimited influence. He saw also, that if the mission of Bowles proved unsuccessful, he would inevitably be exposed to the

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* Mr. Miller having lost many thousand pounds, in consequence of the *spoliations* of the *commandant* left in the Bahamas, after their conquest, repaired in person to the Havannah, and acquired such a facility in the Spanish language, that he himself drew up his memorials and representations, and was only precluded from obtaining complete justice by the chicanery and intrigue incident to all despotic countries. During the subsequent treaty, the English minister, in consequence of instructions from his court, made the most powerful representations to the Spanish plenipotentiary in his behalf, and redress was promised, but not obtained. It is to be hoped, that when the present war ceases, more effectual means will be recurred to, in order to procure inadequate compensation for this gentleman, who has lately returned to his estates in the Bahamas. The author of this article, during a short visit to the West Indies, experienced a continued series of friendship and hospitality on the part of Mr. Miller, and he eagerly seizes the present opportunity of acknowledging his many obligations to him.

machinations

machinations of the governors of Louisiana and the Floridas, to the jealousy of rival leaders, and finally to the contempt of the savages themselves, who too often mistake misfortunes for incapacity, and conceive success to be the sole criterion of genius.

Actuated by those motives, Mr. Miller accordingly, out of his own private fortune, supplied General Bowles with arms, ammunition, and every thing necessary for his return with credit among the Indian nations; and if it should be deemed advantageous to the interests of Great Britain to call forth the exertions of this hardy race, who occupy the most vulnerable frontier belonging to Spain, either during the present or any future war, it must be allowed, that we shall be indebted alone to the foresight, and generosity of an opulent and respectable planter of the Bahamas.

General Bowles was now enabled on his return home, to strengthen his own authority, and support the interests of Great Britain with the neighbouring nations, who wanted but the signal to commence hostilities. Circumstances however intervened that prevented a rupture, and a treaty of peace between the courts of London and Madrid was at length signed; but the decisive conduct of Bowles on this and other occasions, produced the most inveterate hatred and rancour on the part of the Spaniards, and from that moment they began to meditate those schemes of revenge, in which they at length proved but too successful.

In the mean time new scenes opened to the active mind of the Indian chief. In 1791 he found that

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one of the American *land companies*, in which some members of the legislature of Georgia, and even of the continental congress, were interested as partners, had not only obtained a grant of several millions of acres belonging to the Indians, but that an American army was actually stationed on the frontiers for the avowed purpose of supporting their pretensions. M'Gillavrey also, a rival chief, and a member of the Yazo and Tenessee company, had taken advantage of his late absence, and by means of an Indian of the name of Homahta, and a few others who acted as his followers, entered into a negotiation with the United States, highly disadvantageous to the Creek as well as every adjoining nation.

These events however served only to exercise his talents, for on one hand he found means to repress the encroachments of the American adventurers, and on the other he forced M'Gillavrey to fly to Pensacola, while the Indians, with that versatility so characteristic of savage nations, not only voted his death, but actually sent out a party to pursue and punish him.

As the American troops did not commit any act of aggression, Bowles employed this interval of tranquillity to complete a number of arrangements, conformably to the plan he had submitted to the consideration of the chiefs in 1789. In pursuance of this he proposed to the council, that the ports of Apalachicola, Oakwelockre, and Tampe, should be declared *free* to all nations not at war with them, which was accordingly decreed and made known to the neighbouring

neighbouring states; as was also their determination to trade under a national flag, in order that their vessels might be recognized and respected.

After dispatching several hundred warriors to the ports alluded to above, Bowles, accompanied by several other chiefs, set off in December to lay out towns for the conveniency of settlers, and, while actually engaged in this undertaking at Oakwelockre, an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate him in the midst of his faithful followers, which in return produced an expedition against some suspected persons at Appalachee.

The Indian chief might have remained in possession of the ancient haunts of his adopted tribe, and enjoyed, amidst an awful solitude, the undisturbed sovereignty of the forests, bidding defiance to all the power of Spain, had not fraud been substituted in the place of force, and the basest and most dishonourable arts employed on purpose to entrap a man whom they were unable either to corrupt or to conquer!

"On the 20th of February, 1792, two Spanish officers, Don Joseph de Havia and J. Rosseau, arrived with dispatches from the governor of Louisiana to the Indian nation, which were addressed to General Bowles as the chief. In these his Excellency stated that he had received and forwarded the papers transmitted by the Creeks, relative to their trade, for the inspection of Count Florida Blanca, minister of state, but that an answer could not be expected in less than

six

six months; orders however had arrived in the *interim* to form a treaty that should obviate al possible doubts, and remove all future jealousies. But, as the distance and uncertainty of conveyance rendered it impossible to negotiate by means of letters, the governor had dispatched a vessel with two officers, to propose that General Bowles should accompany them to New Orleans, where they could treat on terms favourable to both nations. It was at the same time intimated, in the most flattering manner, that his Excellency derived great pleasure from the hope of a personal communication; that the vessel was provided with every thing for his accommodation; and that the officers had received the governor's express injunctions to treat the Indian chief with every mark of distinction during the passage to New Orleans, where he was expected with the utmost impatience.

On this General Bowles immediately presented the officers to the warriors, who were then with him, made known the purport of the dispatches, and at the council, which was immediately held to determine on what answer ought to be returned, he recommended that a negociation ſhould be opened with the Spaniards. After a long debate, during which many of the *Sachems* foretold what would occur, and endeavoured to dissuade the war chief from trusting to perfidious promises, it was at length determined, that he should accept of his Excellency's proposal, and adjust the articles of a treaty in person. On this the two officers

officers employed in the present mission, immediately pledged the faith and honour of their nation, that the General should return within forty days.

Every thing being thus settled, to all appearance in the most friendly manner, they sailed for New Orleans, where, after some previous discussions, the Governor pretended that his own powers were insufficient to treat on matters of such great importance, and that Mr. Bowles must therefore be sent to Spain. In ſhort, the minister plenipotentiary of the Creek nation was seized, put on board an armed vessel, and conducted as a prisoner!

After being detained some time at one of the seaports, the General was carried to Madrid, and a negociation actually commenced while under confinement. He, on his part, after complaining of the treachery which had been employed against him, proposed to leave the decision of the whole affair to his Britannic Majesty; but this was refused. He was, however, assured of the high respect in which he was held by the ministers of the King of Spain, and actually offered a commission in his Majesty's service.

Bowles, however, rejected the proferred compliment, and refused to accede to the proposition of a separate treaty, which would render his nation dependent on the Catholic King, and place it in such a situation as to be at variance with England. On this the guard which had been placed over him was doubled; and it was insinuated that he had acquired too great an ascendency among the Indian ever to be permitted to return to the Floridas.

But

But as such barbarous policy, and harsh and rigorous treatment, instead of procuring submission, as had been expected, only produced a stern and uncomplying conduct, on the part of the war-chief of the United Nations, a new mode of seduction was recurred to. His table was now crowded with all the luxuries that the capital afforded; a number of aukward apologies were made for the treatment so recently experienced by him, and it was intimated that the ministers at length wished to treat with him in earnest. On this Bowles observed, with great adroitness, that the idea of a treaty, while he was detained a prisoner, and deprived of all communication with the world, must be allowed to be exceedingly absurd, and that the first step dictated by good faith, would be to restore him to full liberty.

Affairs remained in this situation until the 18th of December, when the *Alcaide* informed him, that his Catholic Majesty had appointed two persons to meet him at Cadiz, where it was necessary that he should repair, in order finally to adjust all differences between the court of Spain and the Creek nation. Accordingly, at five o'clock in the morning of the first day of January 1794, a carriage drew up at his door, attended by a party of light horse, and a military officer stated, with great politeness, that he was appointed to escort him to Cadiz, and instructed to receive his orders. The journey thither was of fourteen days duration, in the course of which, to make use of Bowles's own expression, he enjoyed a "pantomimical" appearance of liberty; but, on his arrival

rival on the coast, he was made a close prisoner as before.

After experiencing a detention of seven months at Madrid, the Cherokee chief was now fated to be confined in the principal sea-port of Spain for one whole year more. During this period a very extraordinary proposition is said to have been made to him, which it may be necessary to state in his own express words, viz. " that if I would write to the minister, the Duke of Alcudia, and accuse the Counts d'Aranda and Florida Blanca as being the cause of my detention and sufferings, he would recal me to court, and arrange my affairs to my own satisfaction. I confess," adds Bowles, " that I was sensibly hurt that so dishonourable a proposition should be made in the situation I then was. The Count de Florida Blanca was a prisoner in Navarra, and d'Aranda in the Alambre at Grenada, under a prosecution carried on by the minister. I stated to the person in question, that I would never prostitute myself to satisfy the views of any man; to which he replied, that if I did not comply, I should be sent to the *Philippine* islands: at this my indignation was fired, and I ordered him to leave my presence, and not return to me with any more proposals of this nature, or I would make him feel my resentment. He left me, and shortly after the return of the post from Madrid I was embarked on board a ship, by the Duke de Alcudia's order, without knowing whither it was bound, while all my baggage was artfully detained on shore; and in that situation I made the

 voyage,

voyage, in the most inclement season of the year, round Cape Horn to Lima, where I was again informed, that if I would accept the offers of his most Catholic Majesty, I might remain there, and return to Spain by Panama and Carthagena, which I refusing as before, was again embarked, and arrived at Manilla on the 27th of November 1795.

"The day after my arrival a paper was shewn and read to me, setting forth the reasons for which I was detained a prisoner and sent to that distant part of the world, which were as follows: 'That I had had intentions to attack and possess myself of his Majesty's colony of Louisiana, and declare the ports of the same free ports to all nations not at war with me and my nation; that for the good of his Majesty's service I must be detained in the isle of Lúz, until further orders from his Majesty; that I should be allowed any office or employ that I would ask or accept of, otherwise that I must maintain myself at my own expence,' &c."

After remaining at Manilla during many months, and experiencing a variety of hardships, it was at length intimated by the governor, that General Bowles was permitted to return to Europe.

"On the 2d of February, 1797, the Corregidor desired me to prepare, adding, with a significant sneer, 'that his Catholic Majesty had ceded the Mississippi, and all his possessions in Florida, to the French republic, and he supposed I would treat with the French, although I had refused to do so with his Catholic Majesty's ministers.' This happened at ten o'clock in the morning, and at two the same day I sailed out of the bay of Manilla, on board the ship *la Purissima Conceptione*, which touched at the Isle of France, where I first understood the state of Europe, heard of the war between Great Britain and the Spanish nation, and learned to a certainty that the King of Spain had ceded the Mississippi and the Floridas to the French republic, of which they were to take possession when convenient.

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"At that time a declaration of war against the United States was hourly expected, and the democratic party at the Isle of France congratulated me on the prospect of an approaching alliance between my nation, the Creeks, and the French republic; while several Americans, on the other hand, expressed their uneasiness at seeing me on my return to Europe, but offered me a passage to New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, as vessels were then lying in the harbour bound to all those different ports, which I however declined accepting. I also observed a profound silence in respect to all parties, and determined not to return to Spain; on the contrary, I actually laid a plan to seize the Spanish ship while at sea, and to proceed home with her.

"The governor of the isle of France, for the sum of 60,000 dollars, granted a convoy of two frigates, who accompanied us. The very moderate weather we experienced rendered it impossible to elude the men of war, which deterred me from putting my design in execution until the 16th of April, when, being near the Cape de Verde islands, it became suspected; several of the people on this were seized, conveyed on board the frigates, and a strict inquiry made when we arrived at *Les Isles des Luss*.

"I contrived, however, to get on shore on the 9th of May, and after the division had sailed I proceeded to Sierra Leone, where the governor, Zachary Macauly, offered me a passage on board a small vessel destined for London, which I accepted, and accordingly sailed on the 6th of June. When N. W. of the Cape de Verde islands, this little bark lost both her masts, to repair which took several days, when we were overtaken by his Majesty's ship Isis with a convoy from St. Helena to London. Being then ill, Captain Mitchell took me on board, and brought me safe to England."

We have thus given an account, chiefly drawn up by General Bowles himself, of the perfidious manner in which he was arrested and carried to Spain, and thence sent to Manilla; but it would be highly unjust to overlook an incident which he has omitted, and which does great credit to this extraordinary

 man:

man: an incident that, at one and the same time, exhibits the courage, the generosity, and, what is still more extraordinary, the *placability* of an Indian warrior!

It happened, during the voyage from Pensacola to Cadiz, that a captain of infantry, who could not swim, one of the officers who had so basely trepanned Bowles, and was now accompanying him to Old Spain, fell overboard, and, as his countrymen exhibited no great degree of celerity in hoisting out the boat, he was in the most imminent danger of being drowned. Bowles viewed the scene, and, as it may be easily supposed, was not unmoved at it. He now beheld an enemy, who had committed a flagrant breach of faith on one element, about to be sacrificed by another; but at the same time he saw a fellow-creature struggling for existence, and the noble sentiment of a Pagan poet, not unworthy or inferior to any ever inculcated by a Christian sage, finally prevailed:

"Homo sum et nihil a me alienum puto."

The Indian chief at this critical moment happened to stand upon the poop, clothed in a Spanish dress, and having determined on what he was to do, he instantly threw aside his gold laced habit, and leaping into the sea, swam towards the spot where his persecutor maintained a feeble and unequal struggle with the waves. Having come up with him, he lifted his head above the water, and addressed him thus in the Castilian language, within sight and hearing of the officers and ship's crew: "Wretch! it is in my

power

power either to leave you to your fate, or to precipitate you at this very moment to the bottom of the ocean—live however, (added he, raising him up,) if life can be desireable to such a man as you, and from my hands!" Having spoken thus, he bore him towards the frigate, and helped to get him on board. This circumstance made a suitable impression on the minds of the spectators; and, to the honour of the Spaniards be it recorded, it was mentioned afterwards at Madrid with great eulogium and applause.

Having at length arrived in England as already mentioned, General Bowles was landed at Dover, almost destitute of the necessaries of life. Happening while there to hear by accident that Mr. Pitt was then at Walmer Castle, in that neighbourhood, he immediately repaired thither. After some difficulty he saw the minister, to whom, in an audience of upwards of two hours, he recapitulated all his adventures; and although the enemies of that gentleman assert, that he seldom betrays any sentiments which discover his nature to be capable of what the poet terms "a melting mood," yet it is but just here to remark, that his treatment of General Bowles does great honour to him. It was at his express request and recommendation that the Indian chief, after receiving the necessary supplies, repaired to London, and stated his case in a memorial to the Duke of Portland. Soon after his arrival there, a gentleman in the confidence of administration called on General Bowles, procured every accommodation for him, and exerted himself in his behalf with uncom-

mon marks of interest and zeal; nor have his efforts and kind offices ever been wanting to assist him at any subsequent opportunity.

Having thus recapitulated the adventures of this very singular man, who is still alive and retains his accustomed influence in the councils of the Creek and Cherokee nations, it may not be uninteresting to add some further particulars. General Bowles is not more than thirty-six years of age at this moment. He possesses a handsome and manly person; his countenance is intelligent, and he has something peculiarly warlike in his look and attitude, as if destined by nature for command. In point of stature, he is about five feet eleven inches high, muscular in his frame, and constructed in such a manner, as to unite strength and agility.

In consequence perhaps of having lived long in the woods, his complexion has assumed an olive hue, and he is but little fairer than any of the other warriors of his tribe. When attired in the dress of an Indian chieftain, he appears noble and majestic, as may be easily conceived from the inspection of his engraved portrait, which exhibits an admirable likeness.

P. S. Since the above was sent to the press, the editor has received a letter* from a person of great honour and veracity, stating some recent and interesting particulars concerning this extraordinary man. From it he learns, that a gentleman just arrived from

* August 13, 1801.

West

West Florida, has lately seen General Bowles, accompanied by a number of chiefs, and a very considerable body of Indians, who are preparing to attack the Spanish settlements in their neighbourhood.

Actuated by the same spirit that the Carthaginian Hannibal evinced in respect to ancient Rome, he also appears to have sworn eternal hatred upon the altars of his country against the dominions of Spain in the New World; and by wisely combining policy with valour, he hath at length found means to rally around his standard a formidable confederacy of the five nations, the Mohawks and other warlike tribes: thus anticipating what hath been already hinted at in the course of the foregoing narrative.

It is at the same time stated, that they want nothing but a supply of ammunition, in addition to a few regular troops, to garrison the enemy's posts as they are taken; and it cannot be doubted, as the subject of *indemnities* must soon become an object of diplomatic discussion, that the British ministry will be eager to contribute every reasonable assistance in order to reconquer the Floridas, on which the court of Spain has ever set a high value.

Here follows a description of General Bowles, drawn up by a gentleman long and intimately acquainted with him:

"In stature Mr. Bowles commands our attention from his height, and the conformation of his limbs is such as that of the gladiator in the statue, denoting the combined qualities of strength and activity. With a countenance open, bold, and penetrating, he

he has acquired the gravity of manners corresponding with those of the nations whose habits he has assumed. His constitution, superior to all the changes of climate, and equal to the greatest bodily exertions, disdains the indulgence of effeminate pleasures. Hunger and cold are natural evils, to which he submits without a murmur: fatigue and want of rest he considers as the unavoidable attendants of a warrior's life. Temperance he practises from choice, and the force of his example manifests itself among his people. In the endowments of his mind, nature has particularly formed him for great and daring achievements; but the leading feature of his soul is ambition, to which every other passion is made subservient.

"Intrepid and enterprising, his motions, the effects of deliberate reflection, are sudden as lightning, and less suspected. To these talents of a warrior, he unites accomplishments which not only excite in our minds the highest pitch of admiration, but even approach to the marvellous.

"A player without having seen above three dramatic entertainments in his life, and those by the gentlemen of the army at New York. A painter, who never felt the effects of the art but on a sign post. A chemist, without even the rudiments of the science. A sailor, without study of the principles of navigation. A self-taught warrior, instructing savages in tactics, and reducing their barbarous and hitherto uncontrouled spirits to the rules of military discipline. A legislator, forming a code of laws wisely adapted to their manners and situation, teaching the untutored barbarian, shivering at every wintry blast, to secure himself against the inclemency of the seasons; and changing him from the hunter, wasting his life to preserve a precarious subsistence, into the more civilized state of a herdsman: in a word, altering his whole nature, without making him effeminate.

"And lastly, let us contemplate him as a politician, unpractised in courts, yet claiming the attention of two of the principal powers of Europe (England and Spain;) and when we have viewed him assimilating such contrarieties of character, our admiration will have no bounds, when it is known that the *beloved warrior* of the most

most warlike of all the native tribes, has just attained his six and twentieth year.*

"Lovers of genius, philosophers, and men of letters, 'tis to you that this portrait is dedicated! Encouragers and promoters of the arts, legislators who love your fellow-creatures, 'tis to you who can instruct the original in all things that can be useful to the nations he may one day govern, 'tis in your power to temper the ardour of the conqueror with the love of peace, and to turn the ambition of dominion to the service of mankind."†

MARQUIS TOWNSHEND.

FIELD Marshall George Townshend, Marquis Townshend of Rainham, in the county of Norfolk, has attained a good old age, having been born on the 28th of February, 1724, O. S. He is the eldest son of Charles, late Lord Viscount Townshend, by a Hertfordshire heiress,‡ and may justly boast, (if there be any merit in such a fortuitous circumstance) of being descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, who have distinguished themselves in the senate and the field, and occupied high situations in the army, the navy, and the state. In addition to this, which is either supposed to confer or procure distinction over the *novi homines* of the day, his lordship enjoyed a more solid advantage, in the matrimonial alliances of his family, with those who possessed high rank

* This was written in 1791.

† Authentic Memoir of M. A. Bowles, Esq. p. 67.

‡ Miss Audrey Harrison, daughter of Edward Harrison, Esq. of Balls.

power,

power and authority in the nation, at the time he started in the career of life; Charles his grandfather having married the sister of the great Duke of Newcastle, and soon after her death, paid his addresses, and was united to the sister of Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford, the celebrated prime minister of England.

Lord Townshend, at an early period, betook himself to the profession of arms, and there are few men of the present day who have seen a greater variety of service. Connected, as we have already remarked, with the first whig families in the kingdom, and being a youth of talents and enterprize, there is but little wonder that his military career should be at once brilliant and rapid.

It was previously and wisely determined, however, that he should enjoy the advantages resulting from a good education: he and his brother Charles* were accordingly

* The following is the description of this extraordinary man by Mr. Burke:

"In truth he was the delight and ornament of this house, and the charm of every private society which he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this or any other country, a man of more pointed and finished wit; and where his passions were not concerned, of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not had so great a share as some have had who flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far than any other man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together, within a short time, all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate, that side of the question he supported. He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully; he particularly

ingly placed under the tuition of Mr. Lowe, formerly master of Lichfield school, a seminary which has re-

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particularly excelled in a most luminous explanation and display of his subject; his stile of argument was neither trite nor vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse; he hit the house just between *wind and water*; and not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter in question, was never more tedious or more earnest than the pre-conceived opinions and present temper of his hearers required, to whom he was always in perfect unison; he conformed exactly to the temper of the house, and seemed to guide, because he was always sure to follow it.

"There are many young members, such of late has been the rapid succession of public men, who never saw that prodigy, Charles Townshend, nor, of course, know what a ferment he was able to excite in every thing by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings, for failings he undoubtedly had: many of us remember them. But he had no failings which were not owing to a noble cause; to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate passion, a passion for fame; a passion which is the instinct of all great souls. He worshipped that goddess wheresoever she appeared, but he paid his particular devotions to her in her favourite habitation, in her chosen temple, the House of Commons. He was truly the child of the house; he never did, thought, or said any thing but with a view to it; he every day adapted himself to your disposition, and adjusted himself before it as at a looking glass.

He had observed, indeed it did not escape him, that several persons, infinitely his inferiors in all respects, had formerly rendered themselves considerable in this house by one method alone. They were a race of men, who, when they rose in their place, no man living could divine, from any known adherence to parties, to opinions, or to principles—from any order or system in their politics, or from any sequel or connection in their ideas, what part they were going to take in any debate. It is astonishing how much this uncertainty, especially at critical times, called the attention of all parties on such men: all eyes were fixed on them, all ears open to hear them, each party gaped and looked alternately for

ceived no little additional celebrity, by affording the rudiments of his education to Dr. Samuel Johnson. There is every reason to suppose that Mr. Lowe discharged his duty as tutor to the younger branches of this noble family with equal fidelity and success; and there can be no doubt that he was indebted in return to their gratitude for the honourable asylum in which he afterwards spent the remainder of his days as Canon of Windsor.

Lord Townshend early in life entered into the guards, having obtained a commission immediately on finishing his education, and at a period when he did not exceed eighteen years of age. Great Britain happened then, as at this moment, to be at war with France; a fair prospect therefore presented itself of combining theory with practice, and acquiring both knowledge and preferment. George II. a warlike Sovereign, commanded in person against the enemy on the continent, and the hon. Mr. Townshend had an opportunity of making a campaign under the eye of

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for their vote, almost to the end of their speeches. While the house hung in this uncertainty, now the *hear-hims* rose from this side, now they rebellowed from the other; and that party to whom they fell at length from their tremulous and dancing balance, always received them in a tempest of applause.

The fortune of such men was a temptation too great to be resisted by one, to whom a single whiff of incense withheld gave much greater pain than he received delight in the clouds of it which daily rose about him from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers. He was a candidate for contradictory honours, and his great aim was to make those agree in admiration of him who never agreed in any thing else.''

that monarch. He served with the rank of a subaltern, at the memorable battle of Dettingen,* where the Duke of Cumberland commanded the English, and the Marshal de Noailles the French army; but he soon after obtained a company in the first regiment of foot guards, which of course gave him the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the army.

It appears, however, notwithstanding this promotion, that Colonel Townshend's advancement did not seem sufficiently rapid for the gratification of his ambition, and that he retired at the close of the campaign, retaining only the scar which he had received in consequence of a wound in the heat of action. His merits and pretensions however, like his interest, must have been very high in the public estimation; at least it appears to us even at the present day, that in point of promotion he had but little to complain of, as he obtained a company in the guards before he was of age.

Having now in some measure resigned all ideas of a military life, the views of Mr. Townshend were directed towards another channel, no less favourable to the expectations he had formed of advancement in the state; and as his family possessed a large property and considerable influence in Norfolk, he became a candidate to represent that county in parliament, at

* This battle was fought in June 1743, and we have been given to understand, that Lieutenant Townshend received a wound towards the latter end of the engagement. He was then but nineteen years of age.

the

the general election in 1747, and was returned accordingly.

No sooner had he obtained his seat than he began to display those principles of *Whiggism* which he had imbibed in his early youth, and which it had ever been the pride of his family to cultivate and support. Nor did he now forget or desist from the attempt of remedying those petty abuses which he had witnessed while in the army. He had beheld the halbert snatched from the veteran serjeant, and the well-earned knot torn from the shoulders of the deserving corporal, at the arbitrary will and caprice of a superior officer; and in one memorable instance he had seen government itself stoop to the baseness and injustice of wresting a pair of colours from the hand of a young cornet*, calculated by nature to preside in the councils of his country, and fated soon after to wield her thunders with irresistible success against the ambitious house of Bourbon.

With such instances as these fresh in his recollection, we need not be surprised that, on the third reading of the mutiny bill, in 1749, Colonel Townshend should have distinguished himself by his humanity, and, towards the conclusion of a very able speech, should have moved to add the following clause by way of *rider* to this annual recognition of the novelty and danger of a standing army in time of peace: "that no non-commissioned officer should be liable to be broken without the sentence of a court-martial."

* Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham.

On

On this occasion Mr. Townshend found many supporters, but he was opposed by men who ranked high in point of talents and power; and it would scarcely be believed, were it not accounted for on the score of an insatiable ambition inherited by one part of this family, along with but a very insignificant portion of his talents, that Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, should have opposed so admirable a clause, although his own dismission from the army, without the sentence of a court-martial, had been the theme of the most bitter invective on his part, and created universal discontent *.

But whatever might be the fate of this question, or however inconsistent the conduct of the Colonel's celebrated antagonist, yet he himself acquired great credit for his compassionate feelings towards a very useful class of men, and even then the name of Townshend began to be hailed as the soldier's friend.

Mr. Townshend now thought of settling in life, and an honourable and advantageous alliance was soon found for him, in the person of Charlotte, Baroness de Ferrars of Chartley, only daughter of James Compton, Earl of Northampton, by Lady Elizabeth, Baroness de Ferrars. In this lady, to whom he became united in December 1751, was concentrated the ancient baronies of de Ferrars,

* If the reader should be desirous to develope so extraordinary a circumstance, he has only to recollect that, at the period alluded to above, Mr. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, had got into place!

Chartley,

Chartley, Bourchier, Louvain, Basset, and Compton, all baronies in fee; and in consequence of this match he obtained a very considerable accession to his fortune.

The conduct of Mr. Townshend in parliament appears to have been agreeable to his constituents, for we find him once more returned by the county of Norfolk, at the general election in 1754, a period when it was not unusual for the sturdy yeomanry to exhibit the weight of their displeasure, and when it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to split the county, in an *amicable manner*, between contending parties, and still more for a coalition of two or three great families to have monopolized the whole of its political representation.

Although the subject of these memoirs appeared to have abandoned the profession of arms for ever, yet he was still so far influenced by his favourite pursuits, that he constantly spoke whenever any military topics were brought before the house. A measure of this kind, big and important in its consequences, was agitated in the year 1756, in which he took a decided part. This was the famous system of a national militia. It is well known, that the ancient forces of this country, by which peace was preserved at home, and our enemies baffled abroad, consisted of bodies of men serving according to the terms of the feudal tenure. Reposing and confiding in the love of the people, it was not until a recent period* that our kings had even a body guard. The fields

* The reign of Henry VII.

of

of Cressy and Poitiers, so celebrated in our own annals and those of France, were fought with militia on both sides. It was not until towards the middle of the fifteenth century that a regular standing army was known in Europe. During the long and obstinate struggles between England and France, all the *defects* of the military system under the feudal government (if defects they could be called which prevented long and cruel wars) were first seen and felt, and Charles VII. availing himself of the reputation which he had acquired by his successes against the foes of his country, and taking advantage of the impressions of terror which such a formidable enemy had left upon the minds of his subjects, executed that daring scheme which the boldest of his predecessors durst not attempt *.

This prince not only established and kept up a large body of regular troops in time of peace, but no sooner had he effected this, than, for the first time in the annals of France, the monarch levied an extraordinary subsidy on his people without the intervention of the States General †; he also converted *occasional* into *perpetual taxes*, and at length attained all the plenitude of arbitrary power.

With such a memorable instance before the eyes of the people, with such a tempting precedent exhibited to the ambition of the prince, it is but little wonder that standing armies in England should become an object of unceasing jealousy. The Whigs

* Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. i. p. 111.

† A. D. 1440.

accordingly, although no class of people was more ambitious of power, or better disposed to exert it when they themselves *participated in its advantages*; the Whigs appeared always eager to witness the creation of a militia, levied from among the people, and officered by *gentlemen of landed property*, in order to counterbalance the influence of the crown over a standing army, composed of a body of men whom it could garble, dismiss, or increase at pleasure.

Another party in the kingdom, attached to the exercise of the prerogative, on the contrary, opposed every thing that could in the least tend to bridle the authority of the crown, or curb the operations of a minister delegated by it. It was urged that a militia would be useless; that it would also be burdensome and expensive, and could never attain that degree of discipline, so as to be rendered useful when brought to cope against the regular forces of the enemy. These, however, were only the *ostensible* reasons, and they were combated by argument then, with the same success that they have been since refuted by experience.

Mr. Townshend was one of the most strenuous supporters of this measure, and used his utmost exertions to render it effectual. At length, after being agitated for more than a twelvemonth, and recommended by a speech from the throne, the bill was carried, but not without many warm debates, and no small portion of alterations and mutilations. By the original plan a body of 60,000 men, commanded by landholders alone, was to have defended the coun-

try,

try, while the service of a *standing army* was to have been transferred to our colonies and garrisons abroad. This noble scheme unhappily was not carried into effect, as Mr. Townshend, and other patriotic members, were forced to make a compromise with the prejudices and the passions of their opponents; they however acquired no small share of honour and popularity by the measure.

So great indeed was the reputation of the object of this memoir, that in 1756, when a war with France appeared inevitable, he not only obtained the restoration of his former rank, but, on the 6th of June in the same year, had the command of the 64th regiment of foot conferred upon him. The French at this period had obtained a wonderful influence over the minds of the Indians; they had sent large bodies of troops to the Trans-atlantic continent, and they meditated the total subversion of the British dominions in that quarter. The English ministry, on the other hand, formed a plan for striking an important blow, that would give to Great Britain a permanent ascendency in America, and cripple the exertions of France for ever in that quarter of the world.

It was accordingly determined that three different expeditions should be undertaken at one and the same time, yet that each should be so calculated as to co-operate with the other two, and even join occasionally. Conformably to the settled project of this campaign, General Wolfe, who had recently distinguished himself before Louisbourg, was to

proceed up the river St. Lawrence, as soon as the navigation should be clear of ice, with a body of 8000 men, to undertake the siege of the capital of Canada; while General Amherst, who commanded in chief, was to be entrusted with another army of 12,000, for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, after which he was to cross the lake Champlain, and join in the siege of Quebec. In the mean time Brigadier General Prideaux, with a third detachment, was to invest fort Niagara, and after its possession to fall down the St. Lawrence, take Montreal, and then co-operate with the grand army before Quebec.

Colonel Townshend was selected as third in command in the first of these memorable expeditions, and obtained the rank of Brigadier General, with an express stipulation however, on his part, that he should return at the end of the campaign. About the middle of February, 1759, a considerable squadron accordingly sailed from England to Cape Breton, under the command of the Admirals Saunders and Holmes, two officers of great worth and probity, who had on several former occasions signalized their courage and conduct in the service of their country. By the 21st of April they arrived in the neighbourhood of Louisbourg, but that harbour being blocked up with ice, they were obliged to bear away for Nova Scotia; Admiral Saunders however returned soon after to Louisbourg, and the troops being embarked, to the number of 6000, proceeded up the river to the place of their destination.

An historian of that day gives the following interesting

resting account of the general officers who commanded the expedition:

"The operations by land were entrusted to the conduct of Major General James Wolfe, whose talents had shone with such superior lustre at the siege of Louisbourg; and his subordinates in command were the Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray; all four in the flower of their age, who had studied the military art with equal eagerness and proficiency, and, though young in years, were old in experience.

"The first was a soldier by descent, the son of Major General Wolfe, a veteran officer of acknowledged capacity; the other three resembled each other, not only in years, qualifications, and station, but also in family rank, all three being the sons of noblemen. The situation of Brigadier Townshend was singular; he had served abroad in the last war with reputation, and resigned his commission during the peace, in disdain at some hard usage he had sustained from his superiors. That his military talents however might not be lost to his country, he exercised them with equal spirit and perseverance in projecting and promoting the plan of a national militia. When the command and direction of the army devolved to a new leader, so predominant in his breast was the spirit of patriotism and the love of glory, that though heir-apparent to a British peerage, possessed of a very affluent fortune, remarkably dear to his acquaintance, and solicited to a life of quiet by every allurement of domestic felicity, he waved these considerations: he burst from all entanglements; proffered his services to his sovereign; exposed himself to the perils of a disagreeable voyage, the rigours of a severe climate, and the hazards of a campaign peculiarly fraught with toil, danger, and difficulty."

Having reached Quebec, without experiencing any of those interruptions in navigating the St. Lawrence which they had been taught to expect, the land forces were at length disembarked about the latter end of June, on the Isle of Orleans.

 M. de

M. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, although his forces were superior in point of numbers to the invaders, very wisely resolved to depend upon the natural strength of the country, which appeared to be nearly insurmountable, and had carefully taken all the necessary precautions for defence. The city of Quebec, the grand object of the present expedition, was tolerably fortified, enjoyed the advantages of a numerous garrison, and was besides plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition. This general, with indefatigable zeal, had also reinforced the troops of the colony with five battalions selected from among the inhabitants at large, all the Canadians in the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of savages. With this army he had taken the field, and now occupied a very advantageous situation, being encamped along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, while every accessible part of this disposition was deeply entrenched.

To undertake the siege of Quebec against such a superior force did not appear prudent, but Wolfe knew that he could retreat at any time while the British squadron maintained its superiority, and he was not without hopes of being joined by Amherst, who was at this moment on the borders of Lake Champlain. But, in addition to these considerations, he possessed certain resources within his own power that were incalculable: these were the resources of a great, original, and enterprising mind!

After some skirmishes of no great importance, the commander

commander in chief detached Brigadier Monckton against a body of the enemy posted with cannon at Point Levi, on the south shore opposite Quebec, who drove them from and occupied the spot. Colonel Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, at the same time took possession of the western point of the island of Orleans, which he instantly fortified, notwithstanding an attack on the part of the enemy. An attempt to burn the British fleet soon after proved equally abortive.

In the mean time Brigadier Townshend had distinguished himself at Montmorenci, where he had prevented the French from erecting a battery which would have annoyed and even commanded the English camp; but the superior fire maintained by him luckily prevented this measure from being carried into execution. An attack on the enemy in this quarter*, a few days afterwards, however, proved unsuccessful, and the retreat of Brigadier Townshend, who conducted himself with his usual skill and valour, was at one time in danger of being cut off, owing to the return of the tide in the river St. Charles.

This check preyed on the mind of the commander in chief, and at length produced a severe illness. On his recovering a little strength, he however determined to execute a bold and daring project, which was afterwards fully sanctioned by success.

After consulting the general officers, and obtain-

* At the falls of Montmorenci.

ing every possible degree of information, Wolfe conceived the plan of conveying the troops in boats, and landing them in the night, within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of ascending the heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, and thus obtaining possession of the ground on the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified. On the 12th day of September, at an hour after midnight, this hazardous but decisive *manœuvre* was undertaken by the commander in chief, notwithstanding he was severely afflicted with a dysentery, being one of the first to land: the second embarkation was superintended by Brigadier Townshend.

The Marquis de Montcalm no sooner received the unpleasant intelligence, that the English had gained the heights of Abraham, which in some measure commanded the town on its weakest side, than he resolved to hazard a battle, and accordingly began his march without delay, after having collected his whole force from the side of Beaufort.

On this General Wolfe immediately formed his own line, which consisted of six battalions, and the Louisbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left by Brigadier Murray, while Brigadier Townshend with the regiment of Amherst, and two other battalions, formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy, and thus prevented the left flank of the English from being turned.

The event of this battle, and the fall of the gallant leader,

leader, are facts too well known to be enumerated here. It may be necessary however to observe, that while General Townshend advanced platoons on one hand to prevent the enemy from outflanking him, and on the other took proper measures to overawe a body of savages posted opposite to the light infantry, and waiting only for an opportunity of falling on the rear of the British army, he received information that the command had now devolved upon him, Wolfe being slain at the head of Bragge's regiment on the right, while Monckton was dangerously wounded at the head of that of Lascelles. On this he instantly repaired to the centre, in order to take upon himself the direction of the troops, and finding them disordered, in consequence of the pursuit which had taken place, he formed them again with all possible expedition.

Scarcely had this necessary task been performed, when M. de Bougainville, who had advanced with a body of two thousand fresh troops, in order to second the efforts of Montcalm, appeared in the rear of the English. On this the new commander in chief immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this officer, who retired at their approach among woods and swamps, where General Townshend very wisely declined hazarding a precarious attack. A complete victory had already been obtained; the French general * was mortally

* Montcalm being conveyed into Quebec, wrote a letter to General Townshend before his death, recommending the prisoners to the generous humanity of the English nation.

wounded

wounded in the battle; the second in command died next day; about one thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number of officers; and near five hundred were slain on the field. On the other hand, this important achievement was obtained on the part of the English, at the expence of fifty men killed, and about five hundred wounded.

The wreck of the enemy's army, after reinforcing the garrison of Quebec, retired to Point-au-Tremble, whence it proceeded to Jacques Quatiers, where the discomfited troops remained entrenched until they were compelled by the severity of the weather to make the best of their way to Trois Rivieres and Montreal.

Immediately after the battle of Abraham, Admiral Saunders and General Townshend took the necessary measures for a further co-operation between the land and sea forces; they accordingly sailed up with the ships of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town of Quebec, while the upper part should be assaulted by General Townshend.

This able officer had employed all the intermediate time from the day of the action in securing the camp with redoubts, in forming a military road for the cannon, in drawing up the artillery, in preparing batteries, and in cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. Before any battery however could be finished, a flag of truce was luckily sent from the city with proposals of capitulation; and these being maturely considered by the General and Admiral, were accepted and signed at eight o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth. The terms were doubt-

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less favourable to the besieged, but nothing could be more politic than this concession, as their conduct had been precipitate, if not cowardly; as large bodies of the enemy still continued to assemble in the rear of the British camp; as the season had become wet, sickly, and cold; and as it would be peculiarly advantageous to obtain possession of the place, while it was yet tenable, and the walls were in a state of defence.

What rendered the capitulation still more fortunate for the British General, was, the information he afterwards received from deserters, that the enemy had rallied, and were reinforced behind Cape Rouge, under the command of M. de Levy, who had arrived from Montreal with two regular battalions, while M. de Bougainville at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of provisions, was actually on his march to throw himself into the town on the eighteenth, the very morning in which it had surrendered. In addition to this, it ought not to be omitted, that the place was not then completely invested, as the enemy had destroyed the bridge of boats, and posted detachments in very strong works on the other side of the river St. Charles.

On the capitulation being ratified, the British forces took possession of Quebec on the land side, while a body of seamen entered the lower town for the same purpose.

No sooner had this very important event, which led to the conquest of Canada, taken place, than the

General

General* and Admiral transmitted an account of it to England, and the joyful intelligence was immediately communicated to the nation in an extraordinary gazette. The city of London, the universities, and most of the corporations in the kingdom, presented addresses of congratulation; and the parliament was no sooner assembled, than one of his Majesty's Ministers expatiated in the House of Commons upon the successes of the campaign, the transcendent merit of the deceased General, and the conduct and courage of the admirals and general officers who had assisted at the reduction of Quebec. The house immediately passed an unanimous vote for erecting a monument in Westminster Abbey to the memory of Major General Wolfe, while they at the same time returned thanks to the surviving commanders in this fortunate and glorious expedition.

Quebec being thus reduced, together with a great portion of the adjacent country, and the inhabitants on all sides having come in and sworn allegiance to the English government, Brigadier General Townshend, who had accepted his commission on the express stipulation that he should return to England at the end of the campaign, now prepared for his departure. Previously to this, however, he took the most effectual measures for securing his conquests, and left a strong garrison at Quebec, consisting of five thousand

* General Townshend sent home Colonel Hale with his dispatches, while those of the Admiral were carried by Captain Douglas. The latter was knighted, and both gratified on this memorable occasion with suitable presents.

effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of Brigadier Murray. Immediately after this, he embarked with Admiral Saunders, and arrived in England at the beginning of the winter of 1759.

On his return home the Brigadier was greatly caressed, and he began now to be considered as a military man of great promise; for although the merit, the talents, and the genius of Wolfe were conspicuously exerted in the enterprize against Quebec, and the laurel of victory was appropriately entwined around his tomb by the hand of national gratitude, yet Townshend also had reaped and deserved no common share of fame. It was he who first suggested, at a council of general officers assembled at the request of the commander in chief during his illness, that very measure which afterwards proved so decisive; being of opinion, that a body of four or five thousand men conveyed above the town, might draw the enemy from the strong position they had assumed, and bring on an engagement. This idea being afterwards adopted by General Wolfe, produced the battle of Abraham, and led to the ultimate success of the greatest project that had been adopted during the whole course of the war.

About a month after the siege of Quebec, and during his absence in America, Brigadier Townshend obtained an old regiment,* in exchange for the young one† he had before commanded, a circumstance

* The twenth-eighth regiment of foot, to which he was appointed October 24, 1759.

† The sixty-fourth.

which must have been equally gratifying and advantageous to a professional man, as it continued him on the establishment in time of peace.

But although the Brigadier had returned to England, he did not remain there long in the enjoyment of inglorious ease, while his country was engaged in war. We accordingly find him serving in Germany during the campaign of 1761, but as there were many superior officers, he had no opportunity of distinguishing himself by any separate command; he was however raised to the rank of Major General,* and returned to England in order to attend to his parliamentary duties, when the operations of the field were over; we also perceive that at the general election which took place about this period, he was chosen for a third time to represent the county of Norfolk.

Soon after this, the dominions of our ally the king of Portugal being menaced by the enemy, a considerable body of British troops was embarked for the protection of his kingdom. These accordingly left England, and reaching the Tagus in safety, sailed up that river and encamped in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. Major-General Townshend was selected on this occasion as a proper officer to command the British, and infuse a spirit of order, discipline, and subordination among the Portuguese—essential qualities, in which they were eminently deficient. His lordship has since been often heard to describe and lament the miserable state of our allies, and their total ignorance of service. Luckily, however, few

* March 6, 1761.

efforts on their part were required, and the General having obtained no opportunity of distinguishing himself returned home, not however without receiving many distinguished marks of respect from his most faithful Majesty.*

At the conclusion of the war, there being no further occasion for the military services of General Townshend, he now aspired to civil employments, and the gallant Marquis of Granby having been appointed Master General of the Ordnance, the subject of these memoirs was nominated Lieutenant General under him. On the death of his father, March 12, 1764, he became Lord Townshend, and succeeded to considerable estates in Norfolk; in the course of the same year he was appointed by the administration formed by the union of the Duke of Bedford and Mr. George Grenville, to the high and important office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Few noblemen of that day were better adapted for this eminent station. His lordship was gay, gallant, shewy in his person and address; he possessed a popular eloquence, and was calculated to win the confidence of the people over whom he was delegated to rule. We accordingly find that the frankness of his conduct, added to the expensive style in which he lived, and the congeniality of his convivial talents, rendered him peculiarly agreeable. Let it be added too, that his administration was formed to gain the affections of

* Among other presents received by General Townshend on this occasion, was a valuable diamond ring presented with his Majesty's own hand.

the people, for it was during his vice-royalty that the duration of the House of Commons, before uncertain and unlimited, became octennial—a long period indeed, but still preferable to one of a far greater length. Some meliorations also were permitted to be made in various departments of the state, and at the expiration of the usual time, his lordship departed with the blessings of the nation, who still commemorate his merits by annual festivities. One unfortunate event however occurred at the period alluded to above, for having given some umbrage to Lord Bellamont during his residence in Ireland; that nobleman followed him to England, and a duel ensued in which the latter was wounded.

As the dispute between these two noblemen occasioned much noise at the time, and the whole breathes the spirit of ancient *chivalry*, it may not be uninteresting to detail the particulars in this place. On Lord Townshend's return from his government, Lord Bellamont repaired to England, and employed Lord Charlemont, a nobleman of great respectability, to wait on the Ex-Viceroy with the following paper, explanatory of the nature of the offence given at the castle of Dublin, in February, 1770:

"I wait upon your Lordship by desire of Lord Bellamont: First, to return your Lordship his thanks for the recommendations to the King with which you honoured him, and for which it was his intention to have thanked you in person, if you had done him the favour to receive him the last time that he attended by your Lordship's appointment for a private audience.

"I am further to acquaint your Lordship, that Lord Bellamont thought it his duty not to break in upon your Lordship upon an earlier

earlier day, lest he should interrupt you in giving an account of your high commission to the King, or in taking an account of your own important affairs. But as your Lordship has now been twelve days in town, he conceives that he may with propriety remind your Lordship of the disrespect thrown upon him by the message delivered to him from your Lordship by your Aide-de-Camp, of which Lord Bellamont makes no doubt that your Lordship retains a perfect recollection; it having been of that force as to have obliged him to resign his employment in the army, in order that he might be at liberty to call upon your Lordship for an adequate apology, without incurring the King's displeasure. But lest your Lordship should not have a minute recollection of that transaction at this distance of time, Lord Bellamont has stated it as follows:

" When Lord Bellamont, after several repeated attendances by appointment, on all which occasions he had been put off without seeing your Lordship, did again wait upon your Lordship by appointment; the Aide-de-Camp in waiting having gone down to your Lordship and returned, addressed Lord Bellamont in an audible voice, and acquainted him that he need not wait any longer, for that your Lordship *would* not be at leisure to see *him* that day; and at the same time turning to several other persons of different ranks and professions, he told *them* that your Lordship requested *they* would wait as your Lordship *would* see *them*, however late it might be before you could finish with them, or words to that effect. Lord Bellamont replied to the Aide-de-Camp, 'His Excellency will be pleased to ascertain at what time he will see me. I have already waited several times by appointment, and have been sent away each time.' To which the Aide-de-Camp brought back the following message to Lord Bellamont: 'His Excellency commands me to tell your Lordship, that he usually does military business on Wednesdays, and any other business on Thursdays: that if your Lordship comes on either of those days, and that his Excellency shall be at leisure, he will see you among others in your turn.' To which Lord Bellamont replied, 'Sir, you will be so good as to inform his Excellency, that as a Peer of the realm I have a right to audience: but if his Excellency does not know what he owes to me, I know what I owe to myself, and therefore will not wait upon him here or elsewhere; I will write

a letter to his Excellency stating my business, to which I expect he will shew due attention, as it nearly concerns a respectable corps of officers. This, my Lord, is, as Lord Bellamont conceives, an exact state of the reciprocal messages which passed between your Lordship and Lord Bellamont: but as he did not take them down in writing, he cannot positively aver each syllable. This, however, he can positively affirm, that such was the matter of the message, and the terms in which it was conceived, though manifestly softened by the Aide-de-Camp, that the idea which it conveyed to every person present was that of an intentional indignity wantonly cast on my Lord Bellamont by your Lordship.

"Lord Bellamont conceives that an Aide-de-Camp is the authentic messenger of his superior, and therefore that the message delivered by the one is as the *litera scripta* of the other. Lord Bellamont considers your Lordship alone responsible to him, and your Lordship the only person with whom he is to account. The injury is of public notoriety, and therefore an affront upon record, which does not admit of any negociation."

Lord Townshend having asked what apology Lord Bellamont required, Lord Charlemont read the following article:

"The only apology which the nature of the offence will admit of, is that of asking Lord Bellamont's pardon. Lord Bellamont does not mean to hurry your Lordship in any thing, but expects your Lordship's answer in a reasonable time, at all events one day at least before your Lordship leaves town."

Lord Townshend made answer: "I cannot ask pardon, as it would be an acknowledgement of an offence I never intended."

Lord Charlemont replied: "I am not at liberty to take back any other answer to Lord Bellamont than that your Lordship asks his pardon, or desires to take time to consider of asking it. I therefore intreat your Lordship will reflect before you lay me under the absolute necessity of delivering another message to your Lordship, which Lord Bellamont sends with the utmost regret, and which I shall deliver with equal reluctancy."

Lord Townshend having persisted in his refusal, Lord Charlemont read to Lord Townshend the following message:

"I am enjoined by Lord Bellamont to tell your Lordship from him, that he considers you divested of every principle that constitutes the character of a man of honour."

Upon

Upon Lord Charlemont's delivery of this last message, Lord Townshend begged his permission to call in a friend to be witness of it. Colonel Frazer having come in, Lord Townshend requested that Lord Charlemont would again read this last message. Lord Charlemont then read the entire paper a second time, and being requested by Lord Townshend to carry back an answer to Lord Bellamont, Lord Charlemont, conformable to his private instructions from Lord Bellamont, replied, that any message Lord Townshend might have to send might be sent by a messenger of his own.

On Saturday the 26th, at half an hour after eleven o'clock, Lord Bellamont received the following letter from Lord Ligonier:

"My Lord, *Dec.* 26, 1772.

"I have a message to deliver to your Lordship from "Lord Townshend, and beg to know when I may be allowed "to wait on you. I have the honour to be,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordships most obedient,

"Most humble servant,

North Audley Street. "Ligonier."

(To the Earl of Bellamont.)

To which Lord Bellamont sent the following answer:

"My Lord,

"I this moment received the honour of your Lord-"ship's letter, communicating to me that you have a message "to deliver to me from Lord Townshend, and desiring to know "when I shall be at home to receive your Lordship. I shall not "go abroad to-morrow, but will wait at home to have the ho-"nour of receiving your Lordship, and any commands you may "have for me. I have the honour to be,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's very humble,

"And obedient servant,

Curzon Street, "Bellamont."

Saturday night, half past 11 *o'clock.*

(To Lord Viscount Ligonier.)

"Note.—On Sunday morning, at eleven o'clock, Lord Ligonier waited on Lord Bellamont, who anticipating Lord Ligonier, said, 'Before I receive the message your Lordship has to deliver to me, I must beg leave to call in Lord Charlemont, in order that, as Colonel Frazer was present at the delivery of my message to Lord Townshend, Lord Charlemont may be present at the delivery of Lord Townshend's message to me:' to which Lord Ligonier immediately consented.

"Lord Charlemont being called in, Lord Bellamont said, the transaction had, he supposed, been related to Lord Ligonier on the part of Lord Townshend. He wished it should be related by Lord Charlemont on the part of himself, for he should be concerned to be misconceived by Lord Ligonier, for whom he had a high respect; and the moment Lord Ligonier should have delivered my Lord Townshend's message, he did not think it proper for himself or friend to speak another word; of which Lord Ligonier having expressed his approbation, Lord Charlemont read the paper to Lord Ligonier, which he had by Lord Bellamont's desire read to Lord Townshend. Lord Ligonier then addressing Lord Bellamont, said, 'What will your Lordship say, when, notwithstanding the force of this message, I tell you I am authorized by Lord Townshend to assure your Lordship he never meant to offend you?' Lord Bellamont, after a little pause, replied, 'I confess, my Lord, this is more than I expected; but since then Lord Townshend's first care is to justify his intentions towards me, even under his present situation, let him do it in such a manner as to justify me in releasing him from that situation. The apology your Lordship has now delivered to me is not yet entirely sufficient.'

"Lord Ligonier desired leave to go back to my Lord Townshend, and shortly returned with the following message: 'Lord Townshend has already assured your Lordship he never meant to offend you. He further assures you he is sorry for the affair.' Lord Bellamont then said, 'Before I proceed any further, I must desire that Lord Ancram be sent for, as he has this morning accepted the office of being my friend in the field if I should be called upon.' Lord Ancram being arrived, and informed by Lords Charlemont and Ligonier of what had passed, the Lords Charlemont

mont and Ancram declared, that nothing more could be demanded; and then with Lord Ligonier said, that Lord Bellamont could not surely require that Lord Townshend should ask his pardon for an offence which he had now in the most satisfactory manner declared he had never committed. Lord Bellamont made answer, ‘ My Lords, I feel as you do, that every thing is implied in this apology, but it is necessary that it be fully expressed;’ and having desired leave to retire into another room to consider the matter more clearly, he returned with the following written paper, which he gave to Lord Ligonier, telling him at the same time that he did not tie him down to the letter, but that was the purport of the only reparation he could receive, viz. ‘ Lord Townshend does admit, that the message delivered to Lord Bellamont by his Aide-de-Camp was highly offensive; he therefore disavows it as such, and declares that it was not in his intentions to give Lord Bellamont any offence, and that he is very much concerned for the mistake.’

“ Lord Ligonier accordingly waited on my Lord Townshend with the said paper, and brought back to Lord Bellamont an apology consonant to the full and entire purport of it, conceived in the most satisfactory terms. Lord Bellamont immediately requested Lord Ligonier would assure Lord Townshend, that as Lord Townshend had by that last apology done away the foundation of the message delivered from him to Lord Townshend by Lord Charlemont, he had very great pleasure in declaring it cancelled and annulled,

“ Charlemont. (L. S)
“ Ancram. (L. S)

“ I cannot refuse signing the paper delivered to me this morning without assigning my reasons for it, and I flatter myself the motive of my declining it will justify me to the world.

“ I assent to the facts and progressions as stated, but I was misunderstood if what I said relative to Lord Townshend was considered as a message from him. It certainly was not Lord Townshend's intentions it should be so, though I was authorized to say it from Lord Townshend to Lord Bellamont, which distinction I did not make to Lord Bellamont.

“ As I wished, from motives of humanity, to bring the affair

fair to an honourable conclusion, without coming to extremities, I proposed returning to Lord Townshend: my view in so doing was that of promoting an accommodation honourable to both.

"If I conveyed any other idea to the Lords on my return from Lord Townshend, than a confirmation that his Lordship had intended no affront or injury to Lord Bellamont, and that he disapproved the manner of the Aide-de-Camp, I have to regret that I had not the good fortune to explain myself according to my own ideas and those of Lord Townshend.

"In justice to my Lord Townshend I must beg leave to observe, that whatever expressions of concern he might make use of on this misunderstanding arose from the regret every man of honour must feel under a supposition of having given offence. This is what I understand from Lord Townshend, and what I meant to convey.

"I cannot but persevere in declining to sign the paper, as I find, upon consideration, that what I thought an explanation equally honourable to both, may be construed into a submissive apology, which must appear humiliating to my Lord Townshend.

"What impressions may have been received from any expressions of mine, in the many private conversations I have had on this painful event, I will not presume to determine; but I declare, upon my honour, I have had no other view than to terminate this affair to the honour of all parties, and shall lament if my endeavours should be frustrated.

"*Jan.* 29, 1773. LIGONIER. (L. S.)

"This is a true copy of the original in the hands of Lord Bellamont.

"CHARLEMONT.

"ANCRAM."

On Sunday morning Lord Ligonier waited on Lord Bellamont, and the explanation alluded to above took place; but, owing to some unfortunate misconception, the affair was not made up. According to agreement, therefore, the parties met on the afternoon

noon of February 2, 1773, between four and five o'clock, in Mary le Bone fields, and, after the usual ceremonies had taken place, Lord Townshend fired first, and wounded Lord Bellamont with a ball in the right side of his belly near the groin, who discharged his pistol immediately after without effect *.

Lady Townshend having died September 14, 1770, his Lordship about three years after that event (on May 19, 1773) married Miss Anne Montgomery, daughter of Sir William Montgomery, Bart. a young lady of great beauty and very amiable manners, whom he became acquainted with in Ireland, and by whom he has had five children: he had no fewer than seven by his former marriage.

In 1772 Lord T. obtained the important office of Master General of the Ordnance, which he held for many years; and in the course of the next summer acquired a considerable addition to his income by the command of the second regiment of dragoon guards, which he still holds.

Having received all these favours during Lord

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* Their Lordships behaved to each other in the field with a politeness denoting the most refined gallantry. Each was armed with a case of pistols and a small sword, but it was determined to use the former first. When they had taken their ground, Lord Bellamont pulled off his hat; the salute was immediately returned by Lord Townshend, who asked his antagonist which of them he would wish to fire first? On this he desired Lord T. who instantly complied. Mr. Bromfield extracted the ball, and his Lordship not only recovered, but lived to a good old age.

The seconds were; for Lord Bellamont, the Hon. Mr. Dillon; and for Lord Townshend, Lord Ligonier.

North's administration, it may be fairly inferred that he countenanced the measures that led to the unhappy and disastrous war with America: he however did not give that cause his *personal* support, and we have every reason to think would on no account have been employed on the Trans-atlantic continent.

At length the contest with our colonies having become equally unfortunate and unpopular, and the citizens of the United States having vindicated and ascertained their liberties, the Premier, during whose administration the struggle had originated, was driven from the helm, and all his adherents were obliged to relinquish their official situations. Lord T. of course found it necessary to resign his place of Master General of the Ordnance, which was immediately conferred on the Duke of Richmond, a nobleman who had strenuously opposed the American war, and helped to bring ignominy, disgrace, and discomfiture on the authors of it.

At length, however, in consequence of the ever-to-be lamented coalition, a new, sudden, and unexpected change took place in the government of this country, and Lord Townshend, who had not abandoned Lord North in his disgrace, came once more with that nobleman into office, being reappointed Master General of the Ordnance in 1781: this was a short-lived triumph however, for Mr. Pitt who at that time courted, and was backed by the public voice, soon after obtained the supreme direction of affairs, and rendered himself not only independent of his opponents, but even of popular support.

His

His Lordship in general opposed the new ministry, although he occasionally voted with them; but at length, when the King was suddenly seized with an alarming illness, he took an active and decided part in behalf of the heir apparent, thinking perhaps that he was entitled by *birth* to direct and superintend the affairs of a nation, over which he was destined in the course of nature to preside.

Notwithstanding the final issue of this business, in consequence of the King's recovery, was very different from what had been expected, yet his Lordship, who had acted an open and ingenuous part, experienced none of those mortifications to which others had subjected themselves; neither did he meet with any pointed mark of the royal displeasure, such as was supposed to have occurred to the Duke of Queensberry and the Marquis of Lothian, who were stripped of their employments. On the contrary, we find the crown conferring on him many high and important situations. On the death of General Honeywood he succeeded to the military government of Hull, which, on the decease of Sir George Howard, he resigned for that of Chelsea Hospital, and on the government of Jersey becoming vacant soon after, he received, and still retains, that appointment. Nor have other instances of favour been wanting. It is said that the King had made a promise to the Hon. Charles Townshend*, a statesman of the most prominent

* Mr. Charles Townshend married Lady Greenwich, daughter of John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, and died September 4, 1767.

minent abilities, that whenever any promotions in the peerage took place, his family should not be forgotten. This agreement was about to be confirmed by the coalition ministry; but as his Majesty did not permit them to grant any patents, they were unable to realize the expectations of their friends. On October 5, 1787, however, the King gave his assent, and his Lordship was accordingly created Marquis Townshend, of Rainham *.

1767. The following anecdote, recorded by Boswell, proves that he was desirous to be accounted a wit as well as a statesman:

" Martinelli told us, that for several years he lived much with Charles Townshend, and that he ventured to tell him he was a bad joker.

" Johnson.—Why, Sir, thus much I can say on the subject. One day, he and a few more agreed to go and dine in the country, and each of them was to bring a friend in his carriage with him. Charles Townshend asked Fitzherbert to go with him, but told him, ' You must find somebody to bring you back: I can only carry you there.'

" Fitzherbert did not much like this arrangement. He however consented, observing sarcastically, ' It will do very well; for then the same jokes will serve you in returning as in going.'

Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i. p. 398.

* Lord de Ferrars, Lord Townshend's eldest son, having adhered to Mr. Pitt, obtained an Earl's coronet while the father possessed only a Viscount's. It was humorously stated in the conversation of that day, that Lord de F. having written a letter, requesting Lord T.'s permission to accept of his new honours, received a very polite and jocular one in return, which concluded, after the usual congratulations, in the following manner:

" ———— in short, my dear son, I have no manner of objection to your obtaining any title whatever, except that of—

" TOWNSHEND."

During

During the trial of Mr. Hastings, his lordship spoke frequently, and on recurring to the debates, we find him joining those who asserted that an impeachment did not abate by a dissolution. On one occasion he rose in his place and said, "that he had in discharge of his duty given his constant attendance to the trial; and he could not help saying, that much of the hardship of the case in the continuance of the trial—which was converted from a prosecution necessary to the honour and justice of the country, into a persecution of the individual, was to be attributed to themselves. If, instead of two days of the week, they had devoted to it four, or even six, they would not have given occasion for the complaints which had been justly made by Mr. Hastings of delay, nor perhaps would they have had ground for the present debate. He could not conceive a measure of more severe injustice, than that by any possible means a trial once begun should not be pursued to its regular end of acquittal or condemnation. He was satisfied from the opinions of the most able judges, from the report on the table, and from every argument of analogy that he could draw, that such was the law of parliament, and the privilege of the subject."

In 1792, on the death of Lord Oxford, the Marquis was nominated Lord Lieutenant of the county of Norfolk.

In 1792, his lordship was also appointed to the command of the eastern district, and had his head quarters in the neighbourhood of Warley camp. On this occasion he exhibited a marked instance of his ancient attachment to the militia, by the appointment of one

of the officers of that numerous and respectable body of constitutional soldiers, to be his Aide-de-Camp: this example was afterwards followed by Lord Moira.

In 1796, Lord Townshend was promoted to the rank of Field Marshal, and has now only three above him on the list, two of whom are of the blood-royal. To this high distinction he rose in due order, having been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General, April 30, 1770; and to that of General, November 20, 1782.

The Marquis Townshend of Rainham is now in the 78th year of his age, and yet notwithstanding this advanced period, and not a few misfortunes of a peculiar nature, which it would be cruel to repeat, he *wears* well and enjoys a considerable portion of health and spirits. His person, which is above the middle size, is still portly; and gives us an idea of that athletic, yet handsome shape, which he exhibited in his earlier days. When dressed in his regimentals, he displays a martial air; and his hair now blanched with age, conveys the air and appearance of a veteran inured to camps and to warfare from his youth.

His lordship as well as his brother Charles, has always been considered as a wit, and at a *pun* he has few superiors in the kingdom. He was formerly accounted also an excellent *caricaturist*, and used to amuse himself by exhibiting the oddities of his friends *à la Bunbury*. On one of these occasions his lordship is said to have met with his match, for having *taken off* an officer at table, who could handle his pencil

also,

also, and passed the drawing with the bottle, the military man determined to have a hit at his titled antagonist, and while one side of the table was smiling at the *phiz* of the Colonel, the other was bursting with peals of laughter at that of the noble president, whom he had contrived to represent in a ludicrous attitude.

It would be highly unjust to conclude this article without observing, that Lady Townshend, to a most amiable character and engaging manners, adds the high and distinguished merit of having contributed for many years to dispel the care, to relieve the anguish, and to add to the comforts of her husband.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN, Esq.

LATE GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY.

TO trace the lineage of great men, to detail their thoughts and their actions, to ascertain their character, and even to enquire into the fate, the fortune, and the situation of their posterity, has always been accounted a praiseworthy task. The family of our Dryden, titled and enriched at the present moment, presents a subject both interesting and grateful to our feelings. That of the illustrious Milton, relieved from indigence by the voluntary tribute of applauding theatres, at once excited the bounty and the compassion of the public; and some account of the son of the great Franklin, a name equally dear to Europe and to America, cannot fail to gratify the curiosity of every ingenuous Englishman.

We are indebted to Dr. Franklin himself for the genealogy

genealogy of his own family, and that same contempt of vulgar prejudices which taught this son of science to spurn at the pride of little minds, when he commenced his last will with a recognition of his original profession,* permitted him to give a candid account of his humble progenitors. His ancestors, we are told, resided in the village of Eaton, in Northamptonshire, on a freehold of about thirty acres of land, during a period of at least three hundred years. He himself was the youngest son of the youngest son for five successive generations. His grandfather Thomas, who was born in the year 1598, lived in his native hamlet until he had attained a good old age, and then retired to Banbury in Oxfordshire, to the house of his son John, by trade a dyer, to whom his father was put apprentice.

His family at an early period embraced the principles of the reformed religion, and remained firmly attached to it during the reign of Mary, in consequence of which they were in great danger of being harassed on account of their zeal against popery.

"They were in possession," says the Doctor, "of an English version of the Bible: in order to conceal and preserve it in safety, they bethought themselves of fastening it with strings, in an open position, to the inside of the cover of a *night-stool*. When my great grandfather was desirous of reading to the family, he reversed the cover upon his knees, and turned over the leaves, without unloosing the ends which fastened it. One of the children always remained at the door to give notice if he saw the *Apparitor* approaching:

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* "I Benjamin Franklin, *Printer*, and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, hereby make this my last will and testament," &c. &c.

proaching: this was an officer of the spiritual court. On the least alarm, the cover of the *night-stool* was instantly restored to its proper place, and the bible remained concealed underneath it as usual. This anecdote I had from my uncle Benjamin.

"The whole family continued attached to the Church of England, till towards the conclusion of the reign of Charles the second; an æra when some of the ministers who had been displaced as non-conformist, having established conventicles in Northamptonshire, Benjamin and Josias, my uncles, joined them, never again to separate. The rest of the family continued in the Episcopal Church.

"Josias, my father, married early. He carried his wife and three children to New-England, about the year 1682. The conventicles being at that time under the proscription of the law, and their meetings frequently disturbed, some considerable people of his acquaintance resolved to go to America, in hopes of enjoying the quiet exercise of their religion, and he determined to accompany them.

"My father had four more children by the same wife in America, and ten by a second marriage; in all seventeen. I remember to have seen thirteen of them at table together, all of whom grew up and married. I was the youngest son, and the youngest of all the children, excepting two daughters."

Dr. Franklin was born at Boston in America. In the eighth year of his age, he was sent to a grammar-school; and his father, who had destined him for the church, began even at that early period to consider him as the "chaplain of the family." But as his parents were burdened with a numerous progeny, these intentions were never realized; on the contrary, he was bereaved of every opportunity of attaining a knowledge of the languages, and placed under a school-master, solely for the purpose of learning to write and cypher; the object was attained in

respect

respect to the former of these, but as to arithmetick, he made not the smallest progress in it.

"At ten years of age," says he, "I was brought home to assist my father in his business, which was that of a candle and soap-maker, trades to which he had not indeed served an apprenticeship, but which he had embraced on his arrival in New England, finding that there was not sufficient employment for a dyer to enable him to support his family. My employments, consequently were, to attend the shop, cut the wicks for the candles, run errands, &c.

"I disliked this trade much, and had a great inclination for that of a sailor, but my father declared positively against this idea. However, the neighbourhood of the water afforded me frequent occasions of exercising myself both on it and in it. I learned early to swim and to steer a boat; and, when I had embarked with other children of my own age, they always gave up to me the management of the helm, especially on dangerous occasions. Indeed, I was generally the leader of the party, and frequently brought them into mischief."

As young Franklin evinced the greatest dislike to his father's trade, he was sent for some days on trial, to the shop of his first cousin, who happened to be a cutler. It was his fate, however, to become a printer, and to this calling he was induced to apply himself, in consequence of his attachment to books: he was accordingly bound an apprentice to his brother James, but finding him arbitrary and tyrannical, he repaired to Philadelphia, and there created that fortune, obtained that reputation, and made those great and important discoveries, which procured for him both independence and fame, and will continue to ensure celebrity to his name, so long as science shall be known or respected among mankind.

While

While his father was yet only a tradesman in the capital of Pennsylvania, William Franklin, the subject of this memoir, was born in that city, about the year 1736. This parent was too well acquainted with the advantages resulting from education not to attend to that of his son, and it therefore may be easily supposed that nothing of this kind was omitted, but on the contrary, that all the means of instruction, which America could at that time furnish, were most readily recurred to. Indeed, the company and conversation of such a man as Dr. Franklin, were of themselves capable of improving his mind, calling forth his talents, and rendering him fit, not only to acquire the rudiments of science, but also to attain a knowledge of the world and of mankind.

It was the good fortune of Governor Franklin, to be present at the awful moment when his father obtained a mastery over the most terrific of all the elements,* and to behold one part of the celebrated hemistich

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* " After having published the mode of verifying his hypothesis concerning the identity of electricity and lightning, Franklin determined to erect a pyramid at Philadelphia, in order to perform his experiments.

" Recollecting at length, that a *Kite* would have a more speedy and easy access to the regions of thunder than any building elevated by human industry, he determined to carry this idea into practice. He accordingly adjusted a silk handkerchief to two sticks placed crosswise. At the approach of the first storm he repaired to a field where there was an out-house conveniently situated for his experiment; and in order to obviate the ridicule that but too commonly accompanies unsuccessful attempts for the promotion of the sciences, he took care to communicate his intentions

hemistich of Turgot realized, although it was not his fate to participate in the other:

"ERIPUIT FULMEN CŒLO—SCEPTRUMQUE TYRANNIS!"

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tions to no one but his son, whose assistance was absolutely necessary upon this occasion.

"Having launched his *Kite* into the air, with a pointed wire fixed to the end of it, he soon succeeded so far as to elevate it to the proper height. It was a long time before he discovered the least appearance of electricity. A dense black cloud had already passed over his head without any effect whatever, and he began to despair of success, when happening to look with more than ordinary attention, he at length perceived a lambent flame to stream along the hempen cord. The lightning (for it was actually such!) descended along the string, and was received by an iron key tied to the extremity of it, while this was connected with his hand by means of a piece of silken cord.

"What must have been his joy, when presenting his knuckles to the key at the end of the hempen string, he felt an electric shock, and found out that his discovery was complete.

"He now clearly perceived the electric sparks; more followed in succession; and when the string became humid by means of the rain, it conducted the electric fluid with still greater freedom, so that it would stream out plentifully from the key, at the approach of a person's finger. At this key he charged phials, and from electric fire thus obtained, kindled spirits, and performed all other electrical experiments which are usually exhibited by means of an excited globe or tube.

"This memorable, and indeed wonderful experiment, took place in June 1752, one month after his theory had been actually verified in France, but before he could possibly have received any notice of its success.

"Having succeeded so completely with his electrical kite, Mr. Franklin determined to persevere in his discoveries. He accordingly erected an insulated iron rod, on purpose to draw the lightning into his house, to make experiments whenever there should be

a consi-

It was he who constructed, or at least assisted in constructing the kite, by means of which Dr. Franklin attracted the lightning from Heaven! He was also present, and helped to launch it, during a thunder-storm, at a little farm possessed by the family, within two miles of Philadelphia; and when the old gentleman was prevailed upon to retire into an adjoining shed from the rain, at the entreaties of a dearly beloved son, that son repaired to him from time to time, in order to state the *phenomæna*, and detail the success of this equally novel and magnificent experiment.

At a very early period of life, young Franklin appears to have evinced a marked predilection for books. This laudable attachment was of course encouraged by his father, who spared no pains to promote so praise-worthy a disposition. Not content with read-

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a considerable quantity of it in the atmosphere; and that he might not lose any opportunity of that nature, he connected two bells with his apparatus, which gave him notice by their ringing whenever his rod was electrified.

"But this discovery, although it seemed to the ignorant and superficial to be only a matter of curiosity and surprize, was attended with consequences highly beneficial to the human race. The grand practical use which our author converted it to, was to prevent buildings being damaged by lightning. This he accomplished by fixing a metallic rod higher than any part of the edifice, and contriving it in such a manner as to communicate with the earth, or rather with the nearest water. The lightning was sure to seize upon the rod, preferably to any other part of the building, and that dangerous element, instead of committing its usual destruction, was harmlessly brought in contact with the ground, without doing any harm whatever."—*Oration of the Constitutional Bishop of Calvados, on the demise of Franklin.*

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ing, he began also collect them, and in consequence of his partiality to his native country, either bought, procured, or received as a present, every book, pamphlet, or tract, relative to America, that could be found on that continent. A beginning having been once made, his library soon swelled to a great size, and would at this day have exhibited a choice and valuable collection, had it not been destroyed during the unhappy contest that soon after ensued.*

Early in life, Mr. Franklin accepted a commission as an officer of infantry, in a provincial regiment; and, as we have been informed, served for some time during that brilliant period of our history, when the genius of the first William Pitt wielded the *democracy* of England with such a potent energy as to overwhelm the *monarchy* of France, and realize the proud boast of Oliver Cromwell: to render "the name of an Englishman as great as that of a Roman of old!"

We have been given to understand that he formed part of the garrison of Ticonderago, after the lakes had been secured, and Canada had submitted to the British arms. He attained no higher rank however than that of captain: but more alluring prospects soon

* When Governor Franklin was forced to abdicate the government of New Jersey, his library was packed up in cases, and deposited by his wife within the British lines. The warehouse chosen for this purpose happened to contain a considerable quantity of military stores, and these having been burnt, either through accident or design, the library alluded to above perished in the conflagration.

presented

presented themselves to his mind, and opened a new field for the gratification of his youthful ambition.

Dr. Franklin having determined to visit Great Britain, repaired thither soon after the peace of Paris. He was by this time a man of great consequence, not only as a philosopher who had enlarged the boundaries of science, but as a statesman, well acquainted with the interests of America, and possessing no inconsiderable influence in the colonies. His company was accordingly courted by all ranks and descriptions of men, and he possessed the means of introducing his son to persons of high official situations in the parent state, who afterwards patronised and promoted him in life, and thus connected him by means of new, and, as it afterwards appeared, *indissoluble* bonds with the mother country.

Soon after their arrival in London they visited most parts in the neighbourhood of the capital worthy of their attention; they then set out in a carriage, accompanied by a black servant whom they had brought with them, for the North, and made a tour in Scotland, in the course of which they saw and were entertained by the Duke of Argyle, and many of the principal nobility and gentry.

It has been already stated, that Mr. Franklin was extremely anxious to make himself acquainted with every thing relative to his native country, and it may be fairly inferred, that no native of the colonies possessed better means of information. Thus qualified, it was his wish to hold some official situation there, nor was it long before he found an opportunity of

gratifying so honourable an ambition. He had been already introduced to Lord Bute, who at that period occupied a high and ostensible post, and was supposed to govern the state itself by means of his secret influence. This nobleman, perceiving him fitted for the station to which he aspired, and wishing also perhaps to gratify his father, promised him his patronage, and, unlike courtiers in general, was actually as good as his word.

The government of one of the colonies being then vacant, his lordship accordingly recommended him in the strongest terms to Lord Hallifax, then minister of state for the American department, observing, that he wished that nobleman to examine Mr. Franklin personally, and if he found any one, among the numerous candidates who presented themselves, better qualified, he was willing that his young friend should be put aside. The Secretary on this immediately sent for the subject of these memoirs, and observed, "that although the Earl of Bute and himself had agreed not to interfere with each other's department, yet he had heard such a high character of him, and was told so much relative to his knowledge of America, that he was determined to employ him, provided he equalled his expectations." Having said this, an examination instantly ensued, to the full as tedious and critical as if he had been a candidate for a degree: it terminated, however, in a manner highly honourable to him, for at the end of the ceremony he was appointed to the government of New Jersey, in North America.

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The new Governor did not fail to cross the Atlantic, and repair immediately to the colony over which he was destined to preside. In this high and honourable station he was found at the epoch of that revolution which severed America from this country for ever! Nor was his behaviour on so trying an occasion calculated to throw disgrace upon his situation or his principles. It is true he was born in America, but he considered the colonies as intimately connected, both in respect to happiness and interest, with the parent state. The conduct of his father, appearing by turns in the characters of a minister plenipotentiary, a legislator, and a founder of an independent nation, might be naturally supposed to bias his own; and when it is added, that he looked up to that father for future wealth and independence, the temptation must be allowed to have been of no common magnitude. But the struggle, however painful it might be between obedience on the one hand and duty on the other; between the allegiance he supposed himself to owe to a sovereign and the respect and resignation due to a parent's will; was not of long duration. Mr. Franklin considered himself as invested with a public character; he recollected that he was the King's governor, and, besides the ordinary ties of allegiance, he was bound by others which rendered him more immediately connected than other men with the mother country. He accordingly refused to listen to any solicitations; importunity and threats were equally ineffectual; and, like another Abdiel, he

remained faithful, while almost every one around him swerved *.

Governor Franklin accordingly remained undaunted amidst the storm, and instead of flying from, he beheld the tempest with an unruffled countenance. His unshaken loyalty had excited the rage of the zealots of the revolution, and so far was he from being protected by the name and authority of his father, that the part taken by that truly great man subjected him to no common share of persecution. In short, he was seized in the government house, conveyed to a distant part, and imprisoned for many months in the common jail. This was surely an unnecessary degree of rigour, but it was doubtless exercised under pretext

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* The zeal with which Dr. Franklin embarked in the cause of America, and which was doubtless inflamed by the very impolitic, and even ungentleman-like language he is said to have experienced during his examination at the Council-board, is known to every one. The following short and pithy letter to the late Mr. Strahan, who doubtless thought himself obliged, as *King's Printer*, to vote with the *King's Minister*, will evince that he was determined to keep no terms with those who differed with him respecting the *justice* of the American war.

"Mr. Strahan,

"You are a member of that Parliament, and have formed part of that majority, which has condemned my native country to destruction.

"You have begun to burn our towns, and to destroy their inhabitants!

"Look at your hands—they are stained with the blood of your relatives and your acquaintances.

"You and I were long friends; you are at present my enemy, and I am your's,

"Benjamin Franklin."

of

of retaliation; and it must be confessed that before the Americans obtained that degree of consequence, which their alliance with France afterwards procured for them, our commanders did not always exercise their authority with all the moderation which might have been expected from them.

But be this as it may, Governor Franklin was immured within the walls of a prison, in the precincts of his own government; so strict indeed was the confinement, and so cruel was his bondage, that he was not permitted to be carried to the apartment where a beloved wife was breathing her last sigh, or allowed to bid her farewell!

After his liberation the Governor repaired to New York, whence he sailed for England about that period when all hope of obtaining America was relinquished at the general peace. Having put in his claim as a loyalist, it has been understood that he obtained an annual income under the title of an *indemnification*, but this is said to be disproportionate, either to his merits, his losses, or his sufferings.

Governor F. in point of person is above the common size, with the eye and figure of a veteran. Although subject to the gout, he appears to be strong and athletic, and was accounted one of the handsomest men in America. He is now about sixty-five years of age, and resembles his father in a variety of particulars. Like him he is cheerful, facetious, admirably calculated for telling a pleasing story, and no enemy to social converse, hilarity, and the pleasures of the table when indulged in moderation. Like him

too,

too, he makes his *ablutions* every morning, and is equally partial to an *air* and a *water* bath.

So much was the Doctor attached to this his only son, anterior to the late unfortunate civil war, that he is said to have offered to make over all his possessions to him, and that too during his *own life time*, provided he would but declare for the American cause. He had also made a will in his favour, and in all his wills except the last the entire copy-right of his own private* history was bequeathed to the Governor; indeed it is addressed to, and was expressly written at his instigation.†

Governor Franklin has been twice married. His first wife was a West Indian, by whom he had a son now in France, to whom his grandfather has left a considerable property; his second is a native of Ireland.

It is almost unnecessary to add after what has been said, that Governor Franklin is a man of engaging manners, amiable disposition, and interesting conversation. Indeed, there needs no higher proof of this than the recapitulation of the simple fact, that

* Two copies of this life were left by him, one in America, the other in France, with an intention of being published after his demise. From the latter of these, which had been entrusted to the care of the Duke de Rochefaucault, a French translation was taken *surreptitiously*, and that was again translated into English, under the title of "The private life of the late B. Franklin, L. L. D. Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to France and London, 1793."

† Mr. William Franklin, the Governor's son, to whom it was finally left by his grandfather, asked 1500l. for the MS. which he intends to publish on the conclusion of a general peace.

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the author of this article never saw him but once, and that even a marked difference in respect to political sentiments, so far at least as the cause of America is concerned—a subject which so often embitters life and produces irreconcileable enmity, cannot prevent him from conferring this tribute of applause on a man, who may be fairly considered as being at one and the same time a martyr to his principles, and an honour to the country that gave him birth.

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF FIFE,

OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND,

BARON FIFE IN THE COUNTY OF FIFE, IN GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

SCOTLAND has long been considered as the seat of literature, and while one of the most celebrated of our English authors* appeared fastidiously anxious during his tour in that country, to exhibit the superiority of his own, yet he was liberal enough to allow at the same time, that "Edinburgh the capital, was a hot-bed of genius." But it is not to be denied on the other hand, that while the Scotch have excelled during a great length of time in the *belles lettres*, as well as in the arts and sciences, they were until of late, far, very far behind their southern neighbours in every thing that respected the agriculture, the improvement, and the embellishment of their native soil.

The counties adjacent to the Tweed and the Forth,

* Doctor Johnson.

from

from *juxta-position* indeed, were more forward in their advancement, but all that valuable tract of flat country which stretches northwards along the margin of the ocean, seemed to be consigned to neglect; while in the interior the fastnesses of the Highlands, the steepy sides of the glens, and even the bosoms of the scanty vallies, produced by the interstices between the mountains, were denuded of " their leafy honours," and disowned the hand of cultivation.

The fertile province of the ancient Moray, skirting the shores of the strait or frith of the same name for many leagues, although admirably situated for the purposes of agriculture and commercial intercourse, had not yet received that verdant and perennial covering of trees, which even her most distant hills now exhibit to the enraptured eye; while Aberdeen, presenting but a *germ* of civilization, was, and indeed is still situated in a mountainous, bleak, and inhospitable neighbourhood, which almost denies subsistence to the pine, that sturdy native of the Hyperborean regions.

At length a great man arose, with a mind capable of seeing the wants, and a genius formed by nature to supply the deficiencies around him. This eminent individual who united the talents, the perseverance, and the creative mind of Peter the Great, without being dishonoured by those brutal sallies of passion, and that criminal intemperance incident to the Czar, wanted only a larger scope for his exertions, and a more extensive theatre for his exploits to have rivalled, and perhaps even to have excelled, the founder of the Russian Empire. The truly great man here alluded

to

to was James Ogilvie, Earl of Finlater and Seafield, who may be literally said to have made the desert smile around him. At his bidding thousands of acres until then covered with heath, produced food or fuel for man; those useful esculents the potatoe and the turnip, hitherto seen only in the garden, were taught to grow in the common field; the mountain received the fir; a manufacturing village* arose in the midst of the waste; new notions of agriculture were introduced; new implements of industry were applied to the stubborn soil: a country once thickly studded with the oak, the birch, and the pine, after an interval of ages devoted to sterility in consequence of petty contention and feudal hostility, became again clad with a multitude of forest trees, and the north of Scotland will soon cease to export any portion of her wealth to maintain the splendour of the courts, whose coasts are situated on the Baltic, or offer her tribute to the barbarian majesty of St. Petersburgh.†

Snatched away by a sudden death‡ from a country that could then scarcely estimate his value, all that he had achieved might have passed away, the benefit of his example might have been lost, and the soil might again have relapsed into primeval barrenness, had he not found a successor in James Duff, Earl of Fife, the subject of the present memoir.

Lord Fife, while yet a young man, had cultivated

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* Keith.

† This was written during the reign of the late capricious Emperor.

‡ In 1770.

an intimacy with his neighbour Lord Finlater. They were both nobles, both heads of opulent houses; their patrimonies were extensive; their estates or rather *domains* joined each other, and they entertained similar propensities.*

The Earl of Finlater was the senior in point of years; he was also the precursor of the other in respect to improvements; and although many petty jealousies, in consequence of the opposing interests of neighbouring and powerful chieftains must have necessarily intervened, yet they communicated freely together, and being both occasional inhabitants of Bamff, then but a little obscure fishing town on the borders of the Moray frith, they had abundance of opportunities for an interchange of sentiment.†

William,

* The families of Fife and Finlater were also connected together by marriage, Lord Fife the father of the present Earl having married Lady Jane‡ Ogilvie, a daughter of a former Earl of Finlater, by whom he had no issue. *Editor.*

† The writer of this article is eager to seize the present opportunity of praising the public spirit of the two noblemen in question, the late Earl of Finlater and the present Earl of Fife. Yet he himself is of a spirit by far too independent, to omit remarking at the same time, that Scotland is eminently deficient in regard to a respectable yeomanry, and that the immense and overwhelming landed

‡ The family of Duff.—"The family of M'Duff, Earl of Fife (descended in my opinion of King Duffus, who was murdered in Forres about anno 965) was ancient and eminent, and flourished until the year 1385. The sirnames of Weem, M'Intosh, Toshcach, Shaw, Spence, Fife, Duff, &c. are branches of that great family. I have before me a genealogical manuscript account lately written, deducing the lord Braco from the family of Fife. It consists of three successive branches, &c. &c." *Shaw's History of the Province of Moray, p. 27.*

William, the father, and immediate predecessor of the present Earl of Fife, by means of a salutary economy, and a fortunate series of events, added greatly to his patrimony, and obtained large estates in the counties of Aberdeen and Moray; he had also the

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landed properties collected and concentrated in particular families, are in his opinion far from being beneficial to the community.

The power of a *northern Baron* does not indeed extend now as formerly to *pot and gallows*, and he can neither hang nor drown the supposed culprit found upon his territory. It is however still great, and when exerted by those too often unfeeling underlings called *factors*, intolerable and oppressive. It must also be acknowledged, that the laws of Scotland (formed on the model of the *jus civilis*, and destitute of the benefits resulting from a trial by Jury in civil cases,) are but too favourable to litigation on the part of the great and opulent; in addition to this, a *suit* is in itself tedious, and the expences intolerable.

I have been led into these remarks, by the recollection of an event, which made a strong impression on my memory a few years since. On complimenting a *Laird*, whom I had known, and received many civilities from abroad, on the acquisition of an estate which he had adorned with an elegant mansion, it was observed in reply; "that his situation was far from being comfortable, as he had an Earl on each side of him, and if they were so inclined, they might at any time *plow him down!*"

Great surprise, and indeed indignation, having been expressed on this occasion, the gentleman in question pointing to a rocky promontory near his house, struck me dumb by remarking, "that the agent of one of the noblemen in question, had but the other day actually laid claim to, and taken possession of half that hill for his lord!"

I am not at present provided with the means of stating the result, and have indeed, after a lapse of several years, but an imperfect recollection of the *minutiæ*, although I am confident of being correct as to the principal facts.—EDITOR.

good

good sense, in the provision made by him for his family, to rise above the little prejudices of the day, having taken care, instead of leaving miserable annuities for his younger sons, and the whole of his estates to the first born, who was also to inherit the title, to bequeath an appanage in land to each of them,* while he did not forget at the same time to carve out a noble fortune for his eldest son.

The present Lord, at an early age, displayed many symptoms of that well-regulated prudence, which at once preserves and creates fortunes. Having settled at Bamff, he erected a noble mansion,† in a situation calculated to afford an extensive command both of sea and land. This he surrounded with what the Scotch have chosen to term *policies*, by which they mean to express young plantations; and his Lordship has since thrown a picturesque bridge over the ad-

* "This William Earl of Fife had a numerous family, and gave landed property to all his younger sons. Alexander got Echt, in Aberdeenshire, and married a daughter of Skene of Skene, and has children. George got the estate of Milntown and Bermuckity, near Elgin, was married, and has a son. Lewis had Blairvil, near Forres, was married, but has no children. Arthur had Ortown, but remains a bachelor. His eldest daughter, Lady Ann, married her near relation, Duff of Hatton, and had one daughter, Jean, an heiress, married to her cousin, Sir James Grant of Grant, &c."

A Survey of the Province of Moray, p. 40.

† It was once jocularly remarked by an Englishman, "that the house only wanted wings to fly away from its present situation." The truth however is, that it is charmingly situated for a summer residence, and the author of this sketch, when he visited it some years since, found it deficient in nothing but a library.

joining

joining stream, so that the visitor may ride, or walk for miles, through this extensive domain.

It seems to have been the early wish of Lord Fife to add to his patrimonial estates, by purchasing every thing that came to market, in the three adjacent counties. In order to accomplish this, he employed his savings and accumulations, and even borrowed large sums of money, with a view of encreasing his lands, and his influence at the same time. Nor was his Lordship inattentive to that species of power, which originates in political interest, for he obtained considerable patronage in the boroughs, and even the counties in his vicinage, and soon became the first man, in point of consequence, in the north of Scotland. In respect to some of the towns denominated *Royal Boroughs*, on account of their franchises, he could not, indeed, boast with Lord Lonsdale, while speaking of Whitehaven, that the three elements of *fire*, *land*, and *water*, were subjected to his command, yet he could assuredly controul *one* of them at least: the peat and turf, which constitute the common fuel of the country, being generally procured from within his district.

But Lord Fife was not inattentive to matters of another kind, which in their nature and consequences were far more advantageous to the community. Early in life he began a grand system of planting the waste lands appertaining to all his estates, and enclosed the ground dedicated to this purpose, by means of turf walls, some of which are many miles in extent. When the unfavourableness of the soil,

and the series of years requisite for the growth of timber were considered, it was imagined that a work of this kind could only be intended for the benefit of *posterity*. It has, however, proved otherwise, for the age which saw the trees planted, and the nobleman who had borne the expences, have both reaped advantage, the people being on one hand supplied with wood for fuel and for building, while on the other, the *weedings* alone are said to have brought very profitable returns to the noble owner.

His Lordship's conduct in another point of view has also been meritorious, for praise ought never to be refused to those enlightened men, who combine public and private advantage together. What we now allude to, is his conduct in respect to a little and hitherto insignificant fishing village, in his neighbourhood, of which he is proprietor. This is said to have risen, under his protection and management, to be a place of some note; he has built a pier there, granted certain privileges to the inhabitants, and considering himself as the founder, denominated it "Macduff's-town." Nature, indeed, has not been very favourable to the situation, but on the contrary, presented insurmountable barriers against its ever attaining any commercial eminence, else there is every probability, that no expence would have been spared by the proprietor.

We shall now consider his Lordship in the character of a senator. While a peer of Ireland, he sat for many years as a member for a Scotch county, in the British House of Commons, and spoke but seldom.

We

We do not indeed believe, that his Lordship ever took an active part in the debates of either House, nor do we recollect that until of late he has once delivered his opinions, during the period he has been a peer of Great Britain. But new and important events have recently occurred in the history of this country, which of course attracted his notice, and appear to have rivetted his attention.

At the commencement of the present war, the Earl of Fife, like many other independent noblemen, if they did not fully approve, yet appeared not wholly averse from that measure. There was a certain fascination about the name of Pitt, which added to his persuasive eloquence, seemed to augur, nay, to ensure success. But the delusion at length vanished, and he was found to be a mere theorist, devoid of *practical ability*.

Whether the contest had been originally *just* or *unjust* in its principle, it soon began to be seen, that it was at least ill-conducted; and that, with an exception in favour of the navy alone, the strength and resources of a great nation had never been managed in a manner less calculated to give satisfaction. In addition to these considerations, others naturally suggested themselves, and were indeed intimately connected with them. The taxes and burdens of the people had been multiplied to a degree never experienced before; new, and as some imagined, improper modes of finance were recurred to, and the cord of fiscal oppression experienced a degree of tension never seen until then. Two men, and two only, appeared to rule

the nation, with an extent of authority unknown to modern times. Like the *triumvirs* of old, they seemed to have actually divided the empire between them. One assumed the management and the control of the revenues, the customs, the excise; and every thing to be given away in England, Ireland, and the colonies, was bestowed under his immediate direction. The other was *content* with the patronage of Asia and of Scotland, and as if no office in the latter had been too great or too minute for his attention, he is said to have disposed of every thing, from the ermined robe of the judge to the graduated staff of the exciseman. This circumstance of course, tended not a little to pique many men of figure and consequence, for, being no longer themselves the conduits through which public favour was dispensed, they were reduced to the alternative, of either remaining destitute of power, or of mendicating a portion of it, at the brazen shrine of a provincial lawyer.

At the beginning of the present year (1801) Mr. Pitt's administration began at length to totter, but long ere this was known to the public, many, hitherto supposed the Premier's warmest friends, although they did not side with the opposition, yet declined any longer to give him their support. So early as the 2d of February the Earl of Fife rose in his place in the House of Peers, and not only declared himself hostile to the mode in which public affairs had been lately conducted, but he was also of opinion, that the scarcity then felt was connected with the continuance of the war. Here follows a copy of his speech,

speech, which occasioned no inconsiderable sensation:

"I do very seldom trouble your Lordships, and certainly shall not take up much of your time at present. I had no intention when I came into the House of offering myself to your Lordships. I could not feel myself at ease however, if I did not fulfil my duty in laying my sentiments before you.

"I should rather incline, if the motion for an inquiry was not now made, but even if it should at present be brought forward, thinking as I do, I most decidedly give my opinion for it.

"I have no desire to give offence to his Majesty's ministers, nor to pay court to those that oppose them. Nothing could be more improper at present than to debate whether the war was just or unjust, necessary or not necessary; but I can most positively declare, that no war was ever worse conducted. My Lords, I have read all the history of this country; I have seen and been intimate with all the different parties, from the death of Mr. Pelham to the present hour. In this horrid war our blood and treasure has been spent in the extravagant folly of secret expeditions; grievous and heavy taxes have been laid on the people, and wasted in expensive embassies, and subsidizing proud, treacherous, and useless foreign princes, who would have acted much better for themselves had you saved your money, and taken no concern with them. I do not condole with you on your present unfortunate situation in having no such friends; I only wish you had been in that situation in the beginning of the war. The noble Lord who presides at the Admiralty, in his speech, has, with much ability, done justice to the navy. I sincerely wish our ill-spent money had been laid out on our fleets.

"All those, my Lords, that ever heard me speak, or ever read a letter from me on the subject, will do me the justice to say, that my sentiments have all along been the same; and that this has hung upon my mind from the day the first battalion of the guards marched from the parade for Holland.

"I lament the present scarcity. But great as our demerits are, it comes not from the Almighty, but from the effects of this ill-

conducted war; which I am ready to prove whenever this question is brought forward.

"What have we gained by our boasted conquests? If a proper regulation for commerce was made, I wish they were all sold, and the money arising laid out to pay the national debt, and to relieve the nation of those oppressive taxes which bear hard on rich and poor, on their income, their industry, and, what is worse, their *liberty*; and till some of those are repealed, this nation cannot be called free."

On the 10th of the same month, when a motion was made for an inquiry into the conduct of the ministry, Lord Fife expressed himself in a manner still stronger than before:

"My Lords, having declared my intention of supporting the present motion of inquiry, I hope that will plead my excuse for troubling your Lordships with a very few words. The noble mover of it has supported it with so much abilities, that he has left me room to say very little. I have seen too much of inquiries, in this and the other house of Parliament, to augur a great deal from this; but much will be gained, if we can prevent in future the waste of the public treasure on fruitless expeditions, extravagant embassies, and subsidies to foreign princes. Was there ever a time in which economy, at home and abroad, was more required? Can any one say this has been the case?

"If peace can be obtained on honourable terms, it must be the object of every man's wish; but if that cannot be, I pray God, that every honest and honourable man may come forward and gain the confidence of their country, by laying aside all party differences, and endeavouring to extricate us from the state we are now in.

"My Lords, I have no information but what I hear from the newspapers, and if the changes talked of are real, I am confident it will add no credit to the ministers that retire. No man ever loved his Majesty more, or had a greater respect for his ministers than I had; but evil advice has got round the Throne, and changes of the most alarming nature have of consequence taken

place:

place: if it is a trick, nothing could have been so wickedly advised; and if it is real, nothing more ludicrous; and if it was not at the present momentous period, should deservedly be laughed at. It really looks to me like a farce I have often seen on the stage where so many judges are placed on chairs, and immediately they are twisted round, and replaced by old women, who sing a song—

'*Why may not old women do as well as old men?*'

"I did, my Lords, on Monday last, intend to say a few words, expressing my congratulations on the addition of the House by the Lords from Ireland; but I was so overcome with the heat, I was obliged to retire. I do not, my Lords, presume to offer any advice to my noble brethren the Peers of Ireland; but, from a very long experience, I may be forgiven for just offering them a hint, that their Lordships would be on their guard, lest some enterprising lawyer should come from Ireland, and, without having an acre of land in any part of the three United Kingdoms, might get into Parliament, cut those cords that bind the noble Lords and great landed men together, and when he has thus weakened them by disunion, raised animosities and divisions amongst them, then come to Downing Street, and bargain for all their consequence and patronage, and leave them so stript as not to have it in their power to recommend the respectable character of a judge upon the bench, nor even a low officer of excise.

"My Lords, I beg I may not be supposed to mean any thing national or particular to Ireland, for nothing of that kind has yet taken place; but examples may be found from the northern part of this country, without searching ancient history."

We have hitherto only considered the Earl of Fife in a public point of view. In private life he is hospitable, keeps a good table, and possesses a house, where he usually resides during the sitting of parliament, most admirably situated on the banks of the Thames, of which it has been said that not only the stones, but even the very materials of the terrace, were imported from Scotland, although doubtless not from a partiality on

the part of the noble owner, as many of the English wish jocularly to insinuate, to tread even while in South Britain upon *Scotch ground.* His lordship's principal residence in North Britain is Bamff House, as has been stated before, but he has many hunting seats in the Highlands, at which he is accustomed to spend some time during the summer.

The numerous advantages resulting from rising early in a morning have often been enumerated, and this nobleman exhibits a living example both in respect to health and fortune, for he is up before day-break in winter, and both at that season and in summer transacts all his business before breakfast, thus leaving a whole unincumbered day to whatever pursuits or avocations he may be pleased to dedicate it.

Although of a social disposition, he is moderate in his pleasures, and very temperate in the article of wine. To this however he seems to attribute no great merit, and even no great advantage, as he has been often heard jocularly to remark, "that he has some doubts whether excess or abstinence contribute most to old age, having two *distant relations* of his own, one of whom has never gone to bed sober, nor the other drunk, for the last half century."

Lord Fife was some time since created an English peer, by the title of Baron Fife, in the county of Fife, with remainder to his brothers *, two of whom have children.

* With two of these brothers the author of this sketch has not the honour to be acquainted; but of the other two he knows, that the Hon. George Duff, who resides at Elgin, solaces his lei-

sure

children. Some years since his lordship married Lady Dorothea Sinclair, daughter of the Earl of Caithness, by whom he had no issue.

DR. JOHN MOORE.

THE situation of a *Man of Letters* is in general far from being *enviable*; at least the multitude, who judge of happiness by fine clothes, elegant houses, and gaudy equipages, are not accustomed to look up to him with the respect he merits. Indeed, so far as wealth is concerned, and the immediate advantages resulting from it, they are perfectly right; for the pursuit of literature generally renders a man unfit for all profitable pursuits, and a taste for study entirely destroys a taste for business. This mode of reasoning applies only in part to the subject of these memoirs, for he has not been reduced by his merits to either want or penury; on the contrary, he maintains, and always has maintained, a respectable rank in life, and mixed with the best company of this and the other capitals of Europe. On the other hand, he has not attained wealth by means of an honourable and profitable profession, which has enriched its votaries, but, on the contrary, been outstript in the

sure hours with the innocent and rational pleasures of horticulture, while he dedicates a large portion of his time to the administration of justice as a magistrate; and he learns from a friend, that the Hon. Lewis Duff is an amiable man, and an accomplished scholar.

career of riches (if ever he could be said to have engaged in it!) by men of far inferior talents and abilities. It may not be presumptuous, however, to surmise, that he has enjoyed more rational pleasure, more heart-felt delight, more mental solace, than the sons of toil, of care, and of labour, and that the production of a single literary bantling has conferred more rèal pleasure, although less profit, on him, than a *hard spring* or a *sickly autumn* on any of his brother practitioners in the metropolis.

Dr. Moore is a native of Scotland, a country which attained eminence in literature long before it acquired any dexterity in the manual arts, and aspired to the adornments previously to its attainment of the conveniencies of life. The place of his nativity was Stirling, the ancient residence of the Scottish Kings, and admirably situated in a rich and fertile country (if an Englishman will allow any part of Scotland to be *rich and fertile!*) abounding with romantic scenery, and a charming view of the adjacent frith of Forth.

His father, the Rev. Charles Moore, was a clergyman of the established church, and greatly esteemed for the purity of his manners and the amiableness of his disposition. He was one of the ministers of Stirling, where his only surviving son was born in 1730, and he contrived in that country, and at that time of day, to live in a respectable manner on the usual *stipend* of about 100l. or 120l.: for the Scotch, aware of the expence attendant upon *prelacy*, were pleased, a little more than a century ago, not only

to

to banish the *rooks*,* but destroy their *nests* lest they should return, and it is perhaps to the decent but not extravagant revenue they have granted to their parochial clergy, (the only clergy they considered as *apostolical*,) that they are indebted for the correct lives, exemplary deportment, and literary disposition of their pastors.

On the demise of his father about the year 1735, John, then a boy of five years old, removed with his mother to Glasgow of which she was a native, and where a small fortune left her by her father † was situated. This lady was distinguished by the strength of her understanding, which enabled her to conduct her own affairs, and superintend the education of her son with becoming propriety; she was at the same time eminent for her piety, which she early infused into the mind of her only child, as well as for the benevolence of her heart, that enabled her to cherish a love of humanity in others, while she herself exhibited a living example of its effects.

Young Moore, after the necessary preparation at a grammar school, was *matriculated* at the University of Glasgow, and attended its various classes. Being destined for the profession of medicine, he was placed under the care of Dr. Gordon, an eminent practitioner of that day, who, like the greater part of the physicians

* The bishops were denominated *rooks* by the zealous covenanters; and their palaces, by way of keeping up the analogy, were called *nests*.—*Editor*.

† Mrs. Moore was the daughter of John Anderson, Esq. of Dowhill, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

among

among his own countrymen, did not disdain to unite the kindred arts of surgery and pharmacy. The student at the same time that he witnessed the Doctor's mode of treating diseases, attended the lectures of Dr. Hamilton then anatomical demonstrator, as well as the medical ones of Dr. Cullen his relation, whose fame soon after obtained for him a professor's chair in the University of Edinburgh.

After Mr. Moore had obtained a sufficient knowledge of the usual practice, he determined to improve himself by visiting foreign parts, and a good opportunity presented itself at this period. His Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland, uncle to his present Majesty, after having extinguished a domestic rebellion in Scotland, by his gallant and very meritorious conduct at the battle of Culloden, had repaired to the continent in order to combat our foreign enemies there. He at that period (1747) commanded the allied army in Flanders, and as much instruction and information was to be derived from the scenes of slaughter attendant on a bloody campaign, students from all parts of the empire flocked thither, with a view of observing and improving by the practice of the hospitals.

Luckily for Mr. M. he obtained an introduction which tended not a little to facilitate his pursuits, for he was presented by his relations to the Duke of Argyle, then a commoner, and representative of Glasgow in parliament, who was also Lieutenant Colonel of a regiment of foot, ready to embark for Flanders, in order to serve under his Royal Highness the commander

mander in chief. He accordingly accompanied him on board, and passed over to the continent under his protection.

On his reaching Maestricht in Brabant, our young surgeon attended the military hospitals there in quality of *mate*, the usual preliminary step, and as he expected, soon enjoyed a sufficiency of *practice*, for the patients were at this time exceedingly numerous, in consequence of the unfortunate battle of Laffeldt.

From Maestricht Mr. Moore afterwards removed to Flushing, whither he repaired and spent the winter of 1747, in consequence of recommendations from Mr. Middleton, Director General of the military hospitals to the Earl of Albemarle; whence he was detached to the assistance of the surgeon of the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, commanded by that General Braddock who was afterwards doomed to expiate his rashness and ignorance of American warfare by death and defeat.

He accompanied this regiment from Flushing to Breda, where he spent the winter of 1748 in garrison, and on the conclusion of the peace accompanied General Braddock to England.

A little attendance to dates will suffice to shew, at what an early period the subject of these memoirs was *thrown* as it were upon the world; for we find him leaving his native country, and acting as a surgeon's mate in the seventeenth year of his age. When he was about eighteen Mr. M. repaired to London, with the advantage of two years constant practice: so far

was good, but he soon perceived that it would be highly proper to reap as much benefit as possible from theory also. He accordingly deemed it necessary to attend the anatomical lectures of his countryman Dr. Hunter, and derive every possible assistance that could be obtained in the British capital. After this, as Paris at that period possessed and actually merited the reputation of being the best school in Europe, he determined to go thither, and actually set out soon after in company with the late Sir William Fordyce, who like himself had served on the continent,* and like himself also became a physician.

Luckily for the former, Lord Albemarle whom he had known in Flanders, and who while he acted in the capacity of a General under the Duke of Cumberland, was at the same time Colonel of the Coldstream, of which Mr. M. had been surgeon's mate, happened at this very period to be the British ambassador at the court of Versailles. Having paid his respects at the English hotel immediately after his arrival, Mr. M. was instantly recognized and protected by his Excellency, who had a high opinion of his merit; in consequence of which, he appointed him surgeon to his household. This situation, which was highly desirable for a young man, afforded him an opportunity of being with the ambassador, and participating in the good company and good cheer of his table;

* Sir William Fordyce was surgeon's mate of the third regiment of foot guards, when Dr. Moore acted in the same capacity to the Coldstream regiment of guards.

but as Mr. M's attachment to his profession was at that time unbounded, he preferred to lodge nearer the hospitals, and other sources of instruction, with which a more distant part of the capital abounded, than at the *hotel de Mirepoix*, situated close to the Invalids, and in a more fashionable district. He accordingly chose to live in lodgings, in a quarter more congenial to his habits and pursuits, and visited Lord Albemarle's family only when his assistance was required.

After residing two years in Paris, it was proposed by Dr. Gordon, who was not insensible to the assiduity and improvements of his former pupil, that he should return to Glasgow, and enter into partnership with him—a custom very common in North Britain, and necessarily resulting from the extensiveness of a practice, which among the other branches of medical science embraced that of midwifery. Mr. M. by the advice of his friends accepted the invitation, but deemed it proper to take London in his way, and while there, in addition to the lectures of Dr. Hunter which he had attended before, he went through a course under Dr. Smellie, then a celebrated *accoucheur*.

On his return to Glasgow, the subject of these memoirs practised there during the space of two years, but when a *diploma* was granted by the University of that city to his partner, he chose to prescribe as a physician alone, an example which, at that period, was only followed in the great towns, and is still unknown in the more northern counties. On this occasion, Mr. Moore still continued to act as a surgeon; and as a partner appeared to be necessary, he chose

chose Mr. Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy, as his associate.

Mr. Moore remained for a considerable period at Glasgow; but when he had attained his fortieth year, an incident occurred, that gave a new turn to his ideas, and opened new pursuits and situations to a mind naturally active and inquisitive. James-George, Duke of Hamilton,* a young nobleman of great promise, being affected with a consumptive disorder, in 1769, he was attended by Mr. Moore, who has always spoken of this youth in terms of the highest admiration; but as his malady baffled all the efforts of medicine, he yielded to its pressure, after a lingering illness, in the fifteenth year of his age. This event, which Mr. M. recorded, together with the extraordinary endowments of his patient, on his tomb in the burying place at Hamilton, led to a more intimate connexion with this noble family. The late Duke of Hamilton,† being like his brother, of

* His Grace was born, February 18, 1755; he succeeded his father, as Duke of Hamilton, &c. January 17th, 1758, and also to the titles of Marquis of Douglas, and Earl of Angus, on the death of Archibald, the last Duke of Douglas, who died July 21, 1761, without issue. He himself died unmarried, July 7, 1769.

† Douglas Hamilton, born July 25th, 1756. He married Miss Burrel, now Lady Exeter, in 1788; her Grace obtained a divorce from him in 1794; and he himself died in 1800. The pompous titles of Duke of Hamilton in Scotland, Chattelherault in France, and Brandon in England; together with those of Marquis of Hamilton, Clydesdale and Douglas, Earl of Angus, Arran and Lanerk; Lord Macanshire, Polmont, Abernethey, and Aberbrothick in Scotland; and Baron Dutton and Hamilton in England, could not obtain for him any degree of respect.

a sickly

a sickly constitution, his mother, the Duchess of Argyle, determined that he should travel in company with some gentleman, who to a knowledge of medicine added an acquaintance with the Continent. Both of these qualities were united in the person of Dr. Moore, who by this time had obtained the degree of M. D. from the University of Glasgow. They accordingly set out together, and they spent a period of no less than five years abroad, during which they visited France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.

On their return, in 1778, Dr. Moore brought his family from Glasgow to London, and in the course of the next year appeared the fruits of his travels, in "A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany," in two volumes octavo.—Two years after (in 1781), he published a continuation of the same work, in two additional volumes, entitled "A View of Society and Manners in Italy."

Having spent so large a portion of his time either in Scotland or on the Continent, he could not expect suddenly to attain an extensive practice in the capital; perhaps, indeed, his travels and literary recreations rendered him averse from engaging in the hurry, bustle, and intrigue, incident to the profession of a London physician; he however was, and still continues to be consulted by his particular friends. As if to prove, however, that he was neither unworthy, nor incapable of employment, in 1785 he published his "Medical Sketches," a work, like all his other productions, favourably received;

he is however supposed to have given some offence to a few narrow-minded men among his brethren, by the disclosure of certain *arcana*, which they wish for the sake of their interest to conceal, and therefore consider it as high treason for any one to reveal.

The next of our author's works which we shall mention is his Zeluco. This performance abounds with many interesting events, but its chief tendency is directed towards the education of youth, as it fully evinces the fatal effects resulting from uncontroled passion on the part of a darling son, and unconditional compliance on that of a fond mother. While drawing the character of his hero, the author considers himself employed in "tracing the windings of vice, and delineating the disgusting features of villainy."

"Zeluco, sprung from a noble Sicilian family, is a native o Palermo, where he passed the early years of his childhood, without being distinguished by any thing very remarkable in his disposition, unless it was a tendency to insolence and an inclination to domineer over boys of inferior rank and circumstances. The nobleman, his father, perceived and checked, but his sudden death prevented him from eradicating this bad quality in his son, who, at ten years of age was left under the entire guidance of a fond mother, whose darling he had ever been, and who had often blamed her husband for too great a severity to a child whom, in her fond opinion, nature had endowed with every good quality. One instance of his violence and cruelty is recorded, which we shall here transcribe. "He had a favourite sparrow, so tame that it picked crumbs from his hand, and hopped familiarly on the table. One day it did not perform certain tricks which he had taught it to his satisfaction. This put the boy into a passion: the bird being frightened, attempted to fly off the table. He suddenly seized it with his hand, and while it struggled to get free, with a curse he squeezed the little animal to death." His tutor,

who

who was present, was so shocked at this instance of absurd and brutal rage, that he punished him as he deserved, saying, "I hope this will cure you of giving vent to such odious gusts of passion. If it does not, remember what I tell you, Sir; they will render you hateful to others, wretched to yourself, and may bring you one day to open shame and endless remorse."

The hopeful youth of course complained to his mother of the *cruel* treatment he had experienced, and that lady, after declaring that she would not have her son's *vivacity* repressed by the rigid maxims of a narrow-minded pedant, instantly dismissed the faithful monitor.

Zeluco is told by his domestics and dependants, that learning is unnecessary for a man of his rank and fortune; he is therefore but little solicitous of obtaining the praise of his instructors in literature; but on the other hand, he pays the most assiduous attention to dancing, fencing, and other subordinate accomplishments.

Being captivated while a boy with the gay uniform of a Neapolitan regiment, he obtains a commission, and exhibiting an equal share of depravity and valour, he seduces and exposes the Countess of Brunella's niece, and fights and disarms a gentleman who wished to punish his baseness and treachery.

Zeluco now betakes himself to gaming, spends the whole of his patrimony, deprives his mother of her jointure, and reduces her to such misery, that she retires to the cottage of a poor relation whom she had hitherto disowned, and dies in a short time after of a broken heart.

Zeluco soon after this finds it necessary to quit his native country, and enter into the service of Spain; but he had scarcely landed, when the effects of his unbridled passions, and bad education in early youth, once more make their appearance. In short, he displays a base heart, an able head, and a misapplied courage, ever ready to enable him to *murder* those whom he had either offended, mal-treated, or ruined; and he at last perishes by a cruel death, the victim of his crimes and abominations.

This story is calculated rather to affect the reader with horror, than warn him by example; it abounds,

however, with incident, but it is to be hoped that a character so atrocious as that of Zeluco never existed in life, and is only to be met with in the pages of a novel.*

A great

* As a specimen of Dr. Moore's talents as a portrait painter, it may not be amiss to transcribe the following passage from vol. 1.:

"One of the most important personages of the society into which Zeluco had been introduced, was the Countess Brunella, a lady who took every opportunity of insinuating that she had been in her youth greatly distinguished for her beauty. Nothing however remained to justify her pretensions, except this single consideration, that as she had no fortune, and possessed no amiable quality, it was impossible to account for the marriage which raised her both to rank and fortune, but by supposing that at the time it took place she was handsome. Her charms, however, whatever they had once been, were now entirely fled: but she still retained all the vanity, insolence, and caprice, which ever attended the bloom of beauty, with the addition of that peevishness and ill-humour which often accompany its decay. Her insolence, however, was only displayed to the unprotected, and her ill-humour to her servants; for to her superiors she was always obsequious, and to her equals she displayed an everlasting simper of approbation.

"This woman's benevolence was regulated by decorum; her friendship by conveniency; and all her affections by etiquette. Her heart had no concern in any of these matters.

"She was chaste without being virtuous, because in her it proceeded from constitution, not principle. Guarded by the breast-plate of frigidity, which, like the ægis of Minerva, repells the shafts of love, she walked through life erect, and steady to the dictates of decorum and self-interest, without a slip or false step.

"Inexorable to all helpless females who, from the frailty of nature or the perfidy of man, were observed to totter, or even to stoop, in their progress, she insisted that they should be excluded from

A great and important event, no less than that of the French revolution, now occupied the minds and writings of the literary world. Dr. Moore, instead of surveying it at a distance like the bulk of mankind, was lucky enough to contemplate a most critical portion of it on the spot: he was not indeed lucky enough to be present at the period when the *Bastille*, a structure dedicated for centuries to the crimes of a capricious and unbridled despotism, was overcome by the momentary exertions of a people who aspired to be free; but he resided in France when the horde of foreign mercenaries, that presumed to give law to an independent state, was routed and driven back by the energetic enthusiasm of a whole people, rather than the arms of the troops of the line! And, alas! it was his fate also to witness the murders, the crimes, and the barbarities of September 1792, when the atrocious machinations of a few ruffian enthusiasts deluged Paris with innocent blood, and afforded a pretence to *fanaticise* the greater part of Europe against the infant liberties of France.

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from the society of the upright: and if any person shewed a disposition to palliate their errors, this vulture of chastity quitted for a moment the frail bird on whom she had pounced, and turned her envenomed beak against those who were for shewing the smallest degree of mercy; and being freed by nature from any propensity to one particular frailty, she indulged without bounds in the gratifications of envy, hatred, slander, haughtiness, and other vices of the same class, for which from her childhood she had discovered a decided taste."

The Doctor having made the necessary preparations for the journey, set out from London, and reached Dover in the beginning of August 1792, sailed on the 4th for Calais, and arrived there in the course of the same day, after a voyage of only a few hours. The motives, the objects, and the company that excited him to undertake this expedition, will be best understood from his own words:

"Before I was twenty-one years of age I resided for two years at Paris. I afterwards made a tour into Flanders, and returned through France, some time previous to my accompanying the Duke of Hamilton to that and other countries of Europe.

"On all those occasions, the affability, the ease, and peculiar gaiety of the French nation left a very pleasing impression on my mind; and I often regretted, that a people so formed for enjoying and communicating happiness should labour under the oppression of an arbitrary government and unequal laws.

"I often said, how supremely happy would a people of such dispositions be, were they to obtain a system of government as free and impartial as that which Great Britain has enjoyed since the Revolution!

"From the moment, indeed, that I had any opportunity of observing how much human nature is exposed to be insulted and degraded from the want of this blessing, I had most earnestly wished it to every country of the globe; and when the revolution took place in France, in the year 1789, I rejoiced in the hopes that so extensive and populous a portion of Europe would acquire it.

"With such sentiments, it was natural for me to have a desire of visiting the same people in a state of freedom, whose complicated oppressions I had so often lamented under their former government.

"A very agreeable opportunity of accomplishing this desire was proposed to me last summer by the Earl of Lauderdale, with whom I had the happiness of being acquainted from his early youth, and whose father had long honoured me with his friendship.

"His lordship's ill state of health rendered a few months residence in a mild climate highly expedient. His plan was, after a short stay at Paris, to proceed farther south; and, to make it still more acceptable to me, he was so obliging as to invite the only one of my sons who had not been in France to be of the party*."

As Lord Lauderdale's delicate state did not permit them to press forward with rapidity, our travellers did not propose to make rapid journies towards the capital: on the contrary, after being conducted to the town-house of Calais, where a circumstantial description of their persons and features was taken, and inserted in their passports, they slept all night there, and proceeded no further than Abbeville next day. Here they learned that tumults were very prevalent in the capital, and that a petition for the *decheance* of Louis XVI. or forfeiture of his crown, had been presented to the National Assembly.

After their arrival in Paris, the Doctor appears to have visited the Assembly frequently, and he was awoke about two o'clock of the morning of the 10th of August by the ringing of the *tocsin*, and alarmed at ten by the firing of cannon; events that led to the overthrow of the monarchy, and the execution of the weak but unhappy King. Having repaired after the engagement to the palace of the Thuilleries, he followed the crowd along the grand staircase, and had proceeded only half way up, when he was de-

* "A Journal during a Residence in France, from the Beginning of August to the Middle of December 1792, &c. By John Moore, M. D." Vol. i. p. 1, 2, 3.

terred from ascending further, first by the shrieks, and then by the immediate execution of a man who had been detected by the populace in stealing some of the furniture.

"This expeditious mode of executing justice," says he, "removed all inclination of visiting the royal apartments: I descended to the terrace, and took another melancholy walk among the bodies of those whom I had seen two days before in all the pride of health and military pomp."

At this period the very churches seem to have been made accessary to the *new order of things*, for on entering that of St. Louis, our traveller found the following inscription posted on the walls:

"LE DEVOIR D'UN CITOYEN:

ADOREZ . . . . DIEU,
RESPECTEZ . . . . . . LA NATION,
OBEIR . . . . À LA LOI.

PAIX AVEC SURVEILLANCE.
LIBERTÉ SANS LICENCE.
EGALITÉ SANS INDÉCENCE.
C'EST LA VÉRITABLE SCIENCE."

Some readers will be astonished to learn perhaps, that this was intended as rhime; but all will be ready to agree, that the patriotism was far superior to the poetry.

The times being now very critical, and the massacres of September tending to render a residence in Paris highly disagreeable, the Doctor and his friends had applied to the municipality for passports, and at length found means to leave the capital on the 4th, not

not unmindful, notwithstanding all the late horrors, of the following liberal sentiments:

"Amidst the disorders and sad events that have taken place in this country (France) of late, it is impossible not to admire the generous spirit which glows all over the nation in support of its independency. Before I left Paris I heard of a lady who had offered to the National Assembly to take twelve poor children whose parents died in defence of their country, and to be at the whole expence of educating and supporting them to the age of sixteen! I have heard of many similar instances! No country ever displayed a nobler or more patriotic enthusiasm than pervades France at this period, and which glows with increasing ardour since the publication of the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto, and the entrance of the Prussians into the country. None but those whose minds are obscured by prejudice, or perverted by selfishness, will refuse this justice to the general spirit displayed by the French in defence of their national independence. *A detestation of the excesses committed at Paris, and against the savage demagogues who sacrifice the honour and tranquillity of their country to ambition and revenge,* not only is compatible with an admiration of this spirit, but it is *such well-formed minds alone as possess sufficient candour and sensibility to admire the one, who can have a due horror of the other.*

" ——— Superior to political and national prejudices, a generous Englishman will discriminate with candour—he will envy freedom to no nation; he will praise that public spirit in another people which warms his own breast, and which he admires in his own country now; *he will not rejoice in the calamities of France, and wish so many millions of his fellow-creatures to be again forced under the yoke of despotism, merely because France has formerly been at war with Great Britain.*

" ——— The folly, ambition, and barbarity of individuals, may consign their own names to the execration of mankind, but cannot diminish the intrinsic value of freedom. It is however when the cause of liberty is in danger of being dishonoured by some who pretend to be its supporters, that those who have a just sense of the blessings it confers will avow their sentiments, and refuse

fuse to join the undiscerning herd, who turn that indignation which is due to the wretches who disgrace the cause of freedom, against freedom itself. It is at such times that their avowed attachment is of most importance, because it is then only that, in a free country, the interested votaries of power dare to preach their slavish doctrines.

"There were no need to inculcate the value of liberty when the tyranny of Louis XIV. was dragooning his subjects out of their country, or shutting them up in dungeons, or chaining them to oars: the example of such atrocious deeds rendered precept superfluous. But when shocking crimes are perpetrated under the banners of liberty, by the tools of despotism, it is then necessary to vindicate the purity of the one from the guilt of the other.

"Before I left Paris, I heard a person who was filled with indignation at the recital of the horrors then committing, cry, 'D—n liberty, I abhor its very name!' The indignation was just; but surely it was ill directed. If he had been hearing a recital of the cruelties which have been exercised on various occasions under the pretext of zeal for the Christian religion, whose essence is mercy and good will to man, he might with equal justice and discernment have said, 'D—n the Christian religion, I abhor its very name!'

"From the effects liberty has hitherto produced, few will admire that which has existed in France since the 10th of August; but whatever horror we may feel at the crimes of ambitious unprincipled individuals, the candid will approve of the national spirit of the people in defence of their national independence, and the benevolent will wish that it may be rewarded with the blessing of a free and well regulated government."

Having reached Calais on the 10th of September, Dr. M. and his friends remained there until the 10th of October, when perceiving that the alarm of the French had subsided into joy and security on the dispersion of the Prussian army, our travellers set out once more for Paris, through part of French Flanders by the way of Lisle, and remained there until the middle of December 1792, after which they left that capital and returned to England.

Dr. M. on his arrival in England began to arrange his

his materials, and in 1795 published "A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution," in two volumes 8vo. dedicated to the Duke of Devonshire. He begins with the reign of Henry IV. and ends with the execution of the royal family.

In 1796 appeared "Edward: Various Views of Human Nature, taken from Life and Manners chiefly in England." Edward is a foundling like Tom Jones; he was originally brought up in a workhouse, and his name and family being at length discovered, he is finally united to his Caroline. In the *under* characters in these two volumes, Dr. M. seems principally to excel. "Colonel Snug" is a first rate gambler, who, by means of a carriage, a seat in parliament, and a fashionable acquaintance, commits crimes with impunity that would have brought other men to the pillory. "Lord Fillagree" having by the death of his father become "Lord Torpid," returns to Italy, in order to live along with a woman who was so much attached to her country and relations that she would by no means leave them.

Long habit had rendered the society and amusements of the capital necessary to "Mr. Wormwood," yet he is described as continually railing against the noise and the smoke, *fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ*, and praising the tranquillity of the country. When he gets there, however, he finds himself incapable of remaining three days without being ready to expire with weariness and *ennui*.

In 1800, Dr. Moore published his "Mordaunt," being "Sketches of Life, Characters, and Manners in various

various Countries; including the Memoirs of a French Lady of Quality," in two vols. 8vo. This chiefly consists of a series of letters, written by "the Honourable John Mordaunt," while confined to his couch at Vevay in Switzerland, giving an account of what he had seen in Italy, Germany, France, Portugal, &c. The work itself comes under no precise head, being neither a romance, nor a novel, nor travels: the most proper title would perhaps be that of "Recollections."

Mordaunt considers the massacre of the Protestants of France in the year 1572 not more infamous than that of the prisoners in 1792: according to him "both proceeded from the premeditated wickedness of a few, and not the blind fury of the multitude."

"The French revolution," adds he "is a convulsive disorder, which some people imagined might have been useful to France, by removing other complaints to which her constitution was liable; but being of a contagious nature, there was danger of its infecting nations who stood in no need of a violent remedy: it might therefore have been prudent to have formed a line of circumvallation around France, like what is drawn around towns infected with the plague, and so have cut off all intercourse with the people of that country, leaving them to find a remedy for their own disorders as they best could, and never to have opened the communication until the convulsions were cured, and the danger of infection at an end." Would to God that such prudent advice had been followed!

Our author while mentioning the crowned heads of the various countries visited by his hero, does not forget to state what Gorani had done before, that the education of the present King of Naples was so much neglected, notwithstanding his natural abilities, that he did not learn to read or write until after his marriage,

marriage, and that her present Majesty on this occasion actually undertook the part of his school mistress. He also mentions the uxoriousness of the King of Spain, his hatred of adultery, and his great reliance on the talents of his consort in the arts of government.

On Mordaunt's arrival in Corsica, to which he repairs from Gibraltar, he becomes an eye witness of the siege of Calvi, and our author seems to seize this opportunity of describing the merits and the talents of his own son, General Moore; at least, it appears to us that the officer hereafter alluded to, is no other than that gentleman, who, at the period in question, had obtained no higher rank we believe than that of a field officer.

"As soon as the breach in the outworks was judged practicable, a body of six hundred chosen troops, mostly grenadiers and light infantry, were appointed for that service, and put under the command of the same officer* who had conducted the storm of Convention Fort, soon after the landing of the British troops on the island.

"In this fort no breach could have been effected without erecting a battery on an adjacent hill, which was so steep, that it was imagined impossible to drag cannon up. This difficulty was surmounted by the zeal of L—d H—d, and the prodigious efforts of a body of British sailors, whom he sent ashore for that purpose.

"The Convention Fort was at that time garrisoned by troops of the line, and commanded by a brave veteran French officer, who refused to capitulate, although a considerable breach was made, and received the assailants at the head of his men. The officer who led the assault, and entered the breach with the British troops, cut down a French grenadier, who fought at the side of his commander. The assailants rushed in on all sides, and the Convention Fort was carried. I already mentioned that this same officer

* Lieut. Col. Moore.

was

was chosen to conduct also the storm of Calvi. Day-break was judged the proper time for making the attempt.

"The French, at this period, seem to have made it a rule to stand an assault rather than capitulate, even after a practicable breach was made. They expected to repel the assailants on the present occasion, by throwing grenades from the parapet nearest the breach, as well as by the fire of the garrison.

"The officer who was to conduct the assault posted his troops, at midnight, among the myrtle bushes with which the rocks around Calvi are covered, and as near the breach as possible, without being heard by the enemy. That there might be no risk of alarming them by accidental firing, he had ordered the soldiers not to load, having previously convinced them that the point would be best effected by the bayonet. A little before day-break the commander in chief arrived with the officers of his suite. He had the satisfaction to find that the garrison had not been alarmed at that quarter. False attacks had been made elsewhere to divert their attention.

"After a short conversation between the general and the officer who was to lead the assault the signal was given. The troops advanced with a rapid step to the breach; and they were half way before they were observed by the enemy. A volley of grape-shot was fired from the ramparts. The dubious light before day-break made the cannoniers take a false aim: the shot flew over the heads of the advancing party; and some of the general's attendants, who stood on the ground where I was, and from which the soldiers had advanced, were wounded.

"In a short time the grenadiers were descried scrambling up the rubbish, while many grenades and shells were thrown from the parapet upon the assailants, who, pushing past their wounded and dying friends, continued their course to the breach. By the bursting of a shell the captain of the Royals was grievously wounded at the side of the officer who commanded the assault, who was also wounded in the head by part of the same shell: it stunned him at first, and the wound bled profusely, but did not prevent his entering the breach with the grenadiers, who had no sooner gained the summit than, rushing forward, they were directly masters of the work. Those of the enemy who were not killed or taken

taken prisoners fled into the town. When the general perceived the grenadiers ascending he put spurs to his horse, and rode to the bottom of the hill on which the fort stood, and, quitting his horse, mounted directly to the breach. Finding the troops in possession of the place, he flew into the arms of the officer who had led the assault. The surrounding soldiers shouted, and threw their hats into the air for joy. The moment was worth years of common life!

"It does not fall to the share of many officers, even during a pretty long military career, to conduct an assault, or even to assist in taking a fortress by storm. Such dangerous services seldom occurred formerly, as the garrison generally capitulated after a breach was made. It has been the fate of this officer, though a young man, to conduct two, and be successful in both. The most effectual measures were immediately taken for establishing the troops in the works they had so bravely carried, the cannon of which were turned against the town of Calvi, which the works commanded, and which capitulated soon after.

"The French now held no place in the island of Corsica. The general, who had thus completed the conquest, had studied the sublimer parts of his profession with successful application. After making a tour through the island, and ordering such arrangements as he thought necessary, in case of any subsequent attack, he transmitted his plan of defence to England. I understand that, in his opinion, every benefit that could result to Great Britain from the possession of Corsica, would be obtained by occupying the military posts and the harbours, by retaining the friendship of the inhabitants, and leaving the civil government of the island to themselves; all which he supposed might be done at little expence.

"A different plan was adopted.

"All military operations being now suspended in Corsica, the adjutant general returned to England; and, at the recommendation of the commander in chief, the officer who conducted the storm of Calvi was appointed to succeed him.

"The commander in chief himself soon after left the island, to the warm regret, not only of the British troops, by whom his military talents were greatly admired, but also of the native Corsicans,

cans, whose affections he had conciliated in a wonderful degree. No person had more cause to lament his departure than the new adjutant general.

" Highly esteemed by his brother officers, beloved by his soldiers, and enjoying the confidence of the general, who had succeeded in the military command, he had the misfortune not to please the viceroy, in consequence of a representation from whom, to the surprize of every body, and of none more than the commander of the troops, he was recalled from his situation in Corsica.

" This seemed the more extraordinary, because, independent of the cool intrepidity, zeal for the service, and the professional talents he had so eminently displayed, he is of a modest, unassuming character, humane, of scrupulous integrity, incapable of adulation, and more solicitous to deserve than to receive praise.

" To the Corsicans, who have a high admiration of military talents, and are, perhaps, not such good judges of those of a politician, this removal seemed peculiarly inexplicable; because they had been witnesses to the successful exertions of the officer, and were unable to comprehend the merit of the person at whose request he was recalled.

" This removal, however, though considered as a misfortune to the officer, turned to his advantage.

" The commander in chief of the British forces, whose heart sympathises with valour and integrity, soon placed him in situations of the greatest trust, from every one of which the same intrepidity of conduct, and zeal in the service of his country, which he displayed in Corsica, gave the French Directory substantial reason for wishing that he might be recalled.

" When one important conquest, in which he had a conssiderable share, was announced in the Gazette, the most honourable mention was made of this officer, by the experienced and judicious general who commanded on that expedition.

" The whole article published in the London Gazette, relative to this conquest, was translated into Italian, and appeared in a gazette, published at Corsica, under the authority of the viceroy, except the paragraph regarding the officer now in question. This omission can hardly be supposed to have been made by the direction of the viceroy. Indeed the whole of this transaction is so inconsistent

consistent with the idea I had formed of his disposition, that I am inclined to believe it originated in mistake or misrepresentation.

"I remain, my dear Sommers,
"Your assured friend,
"J. Mordaunt."

Dr. Moore was one of the first to notice the talents of his countryman, the unfortunate Robert Burns, who, at his request, drew up an account of his life, and submitted it to his inspection. In 1787 a correspondence took place between them, in consequence of an event noticed in the following letter, from the poet to the traveller:

"To Dr. MOORE.

"Sir,

"Mrs. Dünlop has been so kind as to send me extracts of letters she has had from you, where you do the rustic bard the honour of noticing him and his works. Those who have felt the anxieties and solicitudes of authorship, can only know what pleasure it gives to be noticed in such a manner by judges of the first character. Your criticisms, Sir, I receive with reverence, only I am sorry they mostly came too late: a peccant passage or two that I would certainly have altered were gone to the press.

"The hope of being admired for ages is, in by far the greatest part of those even who are authors of repute, an unsubstantial dream. For my part, my first ambition was, and still my strongest wish is, to please my compeers, the rustic inmates of the hamlet, while ever-changing language and manners shall allow me to be relished and understood. I am very willing to admit that I have some poetical abilities; and as few, if any writers, either moral or poetical, are intimately acquainted with the classes of mankind among whom I have chiefly mingled, I may have seen men and manners in a different phasis from what is common, which may assist originality of thought. Still I know very well the novelty of my character has by far the greatest share in the learned

and polite notice I have lately had; and in a language where Pope and Churchill have raised the laugh, and Shenstone and Gray drawn the tear; where Thomson and Beattie have painted the landscape, and Lyttleton and Collins described the heart, I am not vain enough to hope for distinguished poetic fame."

In return for this letter the Doctor presented him with a copy of the new edition of his "View of Society,"* and took great pains to promote his interests:

"I am happy to hear," says he, "that your subscription is so ample, and shall rejoice at every piece of good fortune that befalls you; for you are a very great favourite in my family; and this is a higher compliment than perhaps you are aware of. It includes almost all the professions, and of course is a proof that your writings are adapted to various tastes and situations.

"My youngest son, who is at Winchester School, writes to me that he is translating some stanzas of your *Hallow E'en* into Latin verse, for the benefit of his comrades. This union of taste partly proceeds, no doubt, from the cement of Scottish partiality, with which they are all somewhat tinctured. Even *your translator*, who left Scotland too early in life for recollection, is not without it.

"I remain, with great sincerity,
"Your obedient servant,
"J. MOORE."

Since his return from his third and last journey to France, Dr. Moore has remained in the bosom of his family, enjoying all the pleasures in which husband and father can participate, at his house in Clifford-street. Many years since he became happily united

* Mr. Burns read the Doctor's Zeluco with great pleasure and edification, and even made several marginal notes, which Dr. M. was very anxious to see.

with

with Miss Simson, the daughter of a gentleman of the same name, who was professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow. By this lady he has a daughter and five sons. The daughter is unmarried; the rest of his children are disposed of in the following manner:

1. John sat as representative in the last parliament for a district of Scotch boroughs,* no doubt through the interest of the family of Hamilton. He resided on the continent for some time, along with the late Duke of Hamilton and his father; and having early in life entered into the army, became lieutenant-colonel of the fifty-second regiment of foot, and attained the rank of major-general in 1798. Few *young* officers have seen more service. He was present at most of the actions in Corsica, and distinguished himself on more than one occasion; he also found means to conciliate the esteem of the natives, by whom he was greatly beloved; but happening to give umbrage to Sir Gilbert Elliot, now Lord Minto, the viceroy, he was recalled, and that in a way too, as has been said, not much calculated to give satisfaction either to himself or the army. He accompanied the expedition against Egypt, and is now (April, 1801) at Acre.†

2. James is a surgeon in London, and an author as well as his father, having published two profes-

* Lanerk, Linlithgow, Selkirk, and Peebles.

† Since writing the above it appears, by a dispatch from the late General Abercrombie, that Major-General Moore commanded the first division of the troops who landed in Egypt: he is also mentioned as having been wounded, in a letter from Lord Elgin.

sional pamphlets; one entitled, "A Method of preventing or diminishing Pain in several Operations of Surgery;" and another, which he has called "An Essay on the Process of Nature in filling up Cavities and restoring Parts which have been destroyed in the human Body," for which he obtained the prize medal given by the *Lyceum Medicum Londinense*, for the year 1789.

3. Graham, entered early into the navy as a midshipman; was a lieutenant in 1790, and, in due time, became first master and commander, and then post-captain. On board the Melampus, of only thirty-six guns, he engaged with, and took the Ambuscade of forty, October 12th, 1798, being one of the squadron destined to invade Ireland.

4. Francis is in the Secretary of State's department, and acted formerly as private secretary to the late Duke of Leeds, when he held a high official situation.

And 5. Charles, entered the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, as a student of law, a few years since, and has been lately called to the bar. He is a promising young man.

To the honour of Dr. Moore, he has always shewn himself a declared foe to that disgrace of human nature—the slavery that prevails in our colonies. His enmity is calm, but marked; dignified, but sincere. He has been at the pains to enumerate and to overturn the arguments (if arguments they may be termed!) which are usually recurred to, in order to justify cruelty; and when he wishes to render one of his characters most odious and most horrible, he pourtrays

trays him inflicting torture on Hanno, a faithful African, who had incurred his displeasure, in consequence of an involuntary burst of compassion.

" ——— Merciful Heaven!
" Thou rather, with thy sharp and sulphurous bolt,
" Split'st the unwedgable and gnarled oak,
" Than the soft myrtle! O, but man! proud man!
" Drest in a little brief authority;
" Most ignorant of what is most assured,
" His glassy essence—like an angry ape,
" Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven,
" As makes the angels weep." SHAKESPEARE.

COL. EDWARD-MARCUS DESPARD.

THE times in which we live are so extremely *ticklish*, that it would be highly blameable to attach either unqualified censure or applause to any public character. Yet surely it will not be considered either unjust or indelicate to remark, that the subject of this memoir has met with very harsh treatment, and been exposed to rigours which no other gentleman has experienced anterior to conviction since the memorable period of the Revolution. A long and cruel imprisonment has cut him off from all intercourse with the community; his health has been materially injured; his life has been endangered; and his fortune cannot but have suffered in so unequal a struggle. Let it also be recollected, that the humane spirit of our laws has taught us to consider every man as innocent until he is declared *guilty* by the judgment of his peers.

Edward-Marcus Despard is a native of Ireland, and at an early age betook himself to a military life, thus following the custom of the generality of his countrymen, who possess a martial spirit, and are ever eager to distinguish themselves in the service, although they but too often experience contumely and reproach, on account of a trifling incident, that must be acknowledged to be involuntary on their part—the place of their nativity!

> " Long from a nation * ever hardly us'd,
> " At random censur'd, wantonly abus'd,
> " Have Britons drawn their sport, with partial view
> " Form'd gen'ral notions from the *rascal few*,
> " Condemn'd a people," &c. CHURCHILL.

This gentleman is descended from a very ancient and respectable family † in the Queen's county of the now UNITED KINGDOM, and is the youngest of six brothers, all of whom have served either in the army or navy except the eldest, who possesses the family estate ‡.

When only sixteen years of age Mr. Despard went into the army as an Ensign in the 50th regiment; he afterwards joined the 79th as a Lieutenant; and

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* Ireland.

† See a very interesting narrative by Mr. James Bannantine, his secretary, when King's superintendant at Honduras, &c. published by Ridgway.

‡ It is singular enough, that not only five brothers have followed the profession of arms, but that the sixth should also be actuated by the same disposition, for we are assured from good authority, that he has lately raised a *corps* for the internal defence of Ireland.

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at length obtained a company in it. The brevet of Major is, we believe, the highest rank to which he rose in the *line*; he however appears to have distinguished himself, and to have received the thanks of General Calcraft in the public orders of his regiment on account of his services; he was also noticed by General Sir William Meadows and his Grace the Duke of Northumberland.

Captain Despard having been a soldier from his early youth, had imbibed all the military ardour incident to his profession; but his views were more particularly directed to a branch of tactics which require great skill, capacity, and application—that of an Engineer. He was induced to this particular pursuit, no less perhaps from his own desire, than from the consideration, that in this line, and perhaps in this line alone, he could rise by his merit, without parliamentary interest. We accordingly find that he was henceforth detached from any particular regiment, and has acted for many years in the capacity alluded to above.

Towards the latter end of the American war it was determined to undertake an expedition against the Spanish main. Two remarkable men, one of whom has since become eminent on account of his victories, the other in consequence of his persecution, were employed in this adventure: the first was Captain, now Admiral Lord Nelson, who at that time commanded the Hinchinbroke; the other Mr. Despard, who acted on this occasion as chief Engi-

neer*. The latter of these gentlemen was well known to the governor of Jamaica, General Sir John Dalling, having been employed by him in constructing public works at Jamaica, and in strengthening the fortifications, so as to resist any attack on the part of the enemy, who about this period meditated, and soon after took the most effectual steps to effect, an invasion †.

As Mr. Despard had distinguished himself by his skill and intrepidity during the descent on the Spanish main, as well as by his zeal and professional exertions on a former occasion, Governor Dalling was pleased, in 1781, to appoint him *Commandant* of

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* Captain Polson states, "that there was scarcely a gun fired but what was pointed by Captain Nelson of the Hinchinbroke, or Lieutenant Despard, chief Engineer."

† "*House of Assembly*, 18*th December* 1783.

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the House to send a message to his Excellency the Governor, with a copy of this Resolution, requesting that, in consideration of the eminent services rendered to this island in the years 1779 and 1782 by Captain Edward-Marcus Despard, who voluntarily stood forth, and without the least view of retribution of any kind, distinguished himself in the engineering line by constructing various works for our defence; and also of his gallant and judicious conduct in 1782, when, with a small, undisciplined, and inferior force, he attacked and took the Spanish garrison at Black River, on the Mosquito Shore, made between seven and eight hundred of the enemy prisoners, and rescued hundreds of our fellow subjects from captivity, and restored them to their possessions: his Excellency will be pleased to recommend the said Captain Despard to his Majesty for such army rank, or other mark of his royal approbation, as he may be graciously pleased to confer on him."

Rattan,

Rattan, an island in the vicinity of Spanish America, to which the logwood cutters and other adventurers had retreated, when driven from the bay of Honduras by a Spanish armament. He was at the same time to take rank as Lieutenant Colonel and Field Engineer, and command in these capacities on the Spanish main, in Rattan, and throughout the various dependencies annexed to the government of Jamaica, on the Musquito shore, and bay of Honduras.

Colonel Despard, however, did not remain long at Rattan, for finding this settlement utterly neglected, and wholly incapable of defence, he determined to make Governor Dalling acquainted with these circumstances; and although the hurricane season had now commenced, and all access to Jamaica was barred to those of a less resolute and adventurous spirit, he actually repaired thither at the risk of his life, and obtained the necessary succours: a service which was not forgotten by the Governor, who expressed a due sense of it in his dispatches to Lord George Germaine, then Secretary of State for the American department.

The long-intended invasion of Jamaica by the combined fleets of France and Spain being now to all appearance about to be carried into execution, General Dalling detained the Colonel on the island, on purpose to superintend the construction of works for its defence. At length, however, the splendid victory obtained by Admiral Rodney over the Count de Grasse rendered the continuation of these operations,

tions, as well as the Colonel's further services in Jamaica wholly unnecessary.

Soon after this Colonel D. at the express request of the inhabitants of the Musquito Shore, was appointed to the chief command, and with a very inferior force retook Black River*, the principal settlement

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* As this was a service of considerable importance, it may not be amiss to mention a few additional facts. In the spring of the year 1782 the Spaniards took possession of the Musquito Shore, by means of a powerful armament by sea and land. On this the English government, being actuated by a strong desire to recover that country, sent out Colonel Robert Hudson early in the year 1783.

This gentleman was invested with powers to raise a *corps* of Indians, in order to co-operate with any force that might be sent by the governor of Jamaica for the recapture of this place, which appertained to, and indeed was dependent on, his own government.

It so happened, however, that Colonel H. who had been but a short time before his Majesty's Superintendant on the Musquito Shore, had rendered himself so very unpopular both to the settlers and Indians, that it was apprehended by the merchants, and others connected with that establishment, that his mission was not likely to be prosperous.

Under these circumstances, and in consequence of the suggestions of both settlers and merchants, Colonel Despard was sent from Jamaica with an armament, which sailed for the Musquito Shore in August 1782, and immediately on his arrival there, yielding to the pressing solicitations of Colonel Laurie, the King's Superintendant, and those of the settlers in general, as well as the entreaties of the Musquito Indians, their King and Chiefs, Colonel D. assumed the command of the little army, with which he retook Black River.

The recapture of Black River, which included the recovery of all

tlement on the coast belonging to the Spaniards. This achievement obtained for him the gratitude of the inhabitants, and he received thanks from the Indian Chiefs on the coast, from the Governor, Council, and Assembly of Jamaica, and also from the King himself, signified in a letter from the Right Hon. Thomas Townsend, afterwards Lord Sydney, and then Secretary of State.

In the mean time General, afterwards Sir A. Campbell, who had now obtained the government of Jamaica, and was not only a good officer, but an excellent engineer himself, as a mark of his approbation, was pleased to confer the rank of Colonel of Provincials upon him, on the 9th of November 1783.

It was about this period that a definitive treaty of peace took place between Great Britain and Spain, by the 6th article of which a settlement was granted to England on that part of the eastern coast of the peninsula of Yucatan, commonly called the Bay of Honduras, for the purpose of cutting logwood; and by a subsequent convention between the two crowns in 1786, an additional territory was ceded, in consideration of the British settlers evacuating the Mus-

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all the territory of the Musquito Shore, as well as of Rattan and the other adjacent islands, was of much importance, as the establishment which the British subjects have enjoyed in Honduras subsequent to the treaty of 1793, is the fruit of this achievement, by putting us in possession of the only place we could offer as an equivalent to the Spaniards for the Bay, which gives employment to 12,000 tons of shipping, and supplies us with between five and six million feet of mahogany, besides logwood and other dye stuffs.

quito Shore: on this occasion the privilege of cutting mahogany was for the first time granted by his Catholic Majesty.

As some able and experienced man was now wanting, Colonel Despard was selected for that purpose, and surely no one could have been chosen, who to a knowledge of business, added a more intimate local acquaintance of the subject in question. He was accordingly considered as the most proper person to settle and carry into effect the provisions of the 6th article of the treaty alluded to above, and being invested with full powers for this purpose, he conducted himself so entirely to the satisfaction of the British settlers, that they transmitted one Memorial to Governor Campbell, and another to the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, then one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, in which, after stating the lenient mode of government, and indefatigable attention to their interests, which they had before experienced while residing at the island of Rattan under the Colonel, who then acted as *Commandant*, they pointed him out as being of all men "the fittest to preside over them." To this request it was deemed fitting to pay due attention, and accordingly, on the 1st of December 1784, Colonel Despard was nominated Superintendant of his Majesty's affairs within the district which had been allotted to the logwood cutters by the late treaty of peace, upon the coast of Honduras.

This appointment, however, was rather honourable than lucrative, the salary being only 500l. *per annum*.

annum. His residence on the spot, however, proved highly advantageous, for being a man of conciliatory manners, he obtained some very important advantages from the crown of Spain, through the mediation and intervention of his Catholic Majesty's officers in the province of Mexico.

So strict were they, and so anxious to enforce in the most particular and precise manner, the specifications entered into on our part, in order in some measure to obviate the jealousy arising from a *permanent* settlement, that they actually prohibited the inhabitants from cultivating the earth, and Don Juan Baptista Gaul, one of their commissioners, although a humane man, went so far as to destroy such plantain trees, and other esculent vegetables, as he saw there. The British *Superintendant*, however, ingratiated himself in such a manner with the Spanish officers, that he obtained, through their means, the important privilege of rearing the vegetables necessary for their families, and also the use of a small island on the coast, for the residence of a pilot.

In 1786, when the inhabitants of the Musquito Shore were obliged to relinquish that settlement, most of them removed to Honduras, and took up their abode there, to the amount of more than two thousand, including slaves. This circumstance eventually produced a great misunderstanding, not only among the inhabitants, but between a junto of them and the Superintendant. The ancient settlers not only laid claim to the old district, to which they appear to have had legitimate pretensions; but not

content with this, they exhibited unreasonable demands relative to the new territory ceded in virtue of the Convention. The latter were resisted on the part of our government, and the Superintendant received instructions to do every thing in his power for the accommodation and satisfaction of the new colonists. His conduct on this occasion met with the approbation of the ministers at home, but it of course experienced the reprobation of the old Baymen, who complained loudly of the pretended injustice done them, and even sent an agent to Great Britain, to reiterate their complaints; but they of course experienced no encouragement on the part of his Majesty's *then* Secretary of State, Lord Sydney, who countenanced, and with whom indeed originated the proceedings in question.

When a change took place, however, and Lord Grenville became one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, the former memorialists renewed their attack, and proved finally successful, Colonel Despard having been suspended from his office, and left the option of either remaining at Honduras, or returning to Great Britain. He of course preferred the latter, and arrived in England in the summer of 1790, carrying along with him the most flattering testimonies of his conduct, on the part of all the magistrates chosen by the people at large, as well as from a very great majority of the inhabitants, which have been since published by his wife, while he himself was confined within the gloomy walls of a jail.

Immediately

Immediately after his arrival, the Colonel attempted to procure an investigation into his conduct, but all his efforts were exerted in vain; for after two years constant attendance at Whitehall, he was at length told, "that there was no charge against him that required investigation," and that "his Majesty had thought proper to abolish the office of Superintendant of Honduras, otherwise he should have been reinstated in it." In addition to this he was assured, "that his services were not forgotten, and would receive their reward." What that reward has been is a subject that may hereafter be investigated; but it appears that his accounts were never liquidated, nor the balance in his favour paid.

Before we proceed to enter into any further details relative to Colonel Despard, it may neither appear unnecessary nor improper, to make a few previous remarks.

The French Revolution, expressly undertaken and achieved for the purpose of limiting the despotism of the executive power, and extending the rights and franchises of the people, has unaccountably tended to trench on the liberties of the English Nation. New notions respecting the nature of government have been sedulously propagated, and all the noble and manly principles inculcated and practised by our sturdy ancestors, have been discountenanced. In order to avoid the extreme of anarchy, another extreme has been held constantly in view, and those schemes of blood and of vengeance, which we contemplated

templated with horror in the ancient government of a neighbouring nation, have been of late viewed with less appropriate abhorrence. But of all the measures adopted by our *late* ministers, that of secret imprisonment has perhaps raised them more enemies, than any other of their proceedings, subsequent to the declaration of war. Some hundreds have been swept away from their families, their friends, and society at large, and immured in a new, and unheard-of manner, according to the exploded French mode *au secret*. Instead of confiding these real or pretended conspirators to the custody of King's messengers as formerly, or imprisoning them in the Tower, or in Newgate, recourse has been had to gloomy cells, and unexplored dungeons, and charges have been made in the face of the Commons of England, and of all the world, of the most cruel and inhuman usage, such as had never been perpetrated even in the *Bastille*, in its worst days. A man, who by his labours, has obtained the appellation of "the benevolent Howard," some years ago recommended solitary imprisonment for the reform of abandoned felons; this appears to have been extended in a variety of instances to a class of men arrested on suspicion, unimpeached and uncondemned either by the verdict of a grand or a petty jury, and who therefore in the eye of the law are supposed to be innocent! Never was it imagined, before the present times intervened, that Englishmen should have been secluded from the light of the day,

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and the benefit of the air of heaven, and exposed to a rigorous confinement for years, without any legal investigation into their conduct!

But to return to the subject immediately before us. During the period of *terror*, and when all men were taught to believe that some secret conspiracy was about to burst forth and involve the nation in a blaze, a prodigious number of arrests took place. Among those that excited most surprise, was that of Colonel Despard, a gentleman often employed in confidential situations, and who had repeatedly received the thanks of the ministers of the crown. No charge, however, having been made, and no accusation substantiated against him, he was liberated after a few weeks imprisonment. It was now imagined that the suspicions of government had been lulled to rest, in consequence of more particular enquiries, but this was not the case, for immediately after the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, he was once more arrested, and has since been confined in different Houses of Correction, without any attempt to bring him to a trial.

Nor has this been all, for we are told, that when first imprisoned in Cold Bath-fields,* the treatment

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* The following authentic document will convey some idea to the mind of the uninformed reader, not only of the *legality* but *regimen* of this dreary abode:—

"*The Presentment of the Grand Jury for the County of Middlesex, at he General Sessions of the Peace, holden for the said County, at the Sessions-house of Clerkenwell-green, on the 27th day of May, in the fortieth year of the reign of our Lord the King.*

"In consequence of the appearance of a witness that was

experienced by him was cruel in the extreme; and so narrow, it has been said, was his *cell*, that he was

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brought before us in a prosecution, we considered it our duty to obtain an order of this Court to visit the prison in Coldbath-fields, for the purpose of enquiry into the state of that prison, and particularly respecting the care and attention that is paid to the sick; and the following observations are the result of that enquiry.

"That from the cleanliness and good order preserved there, we consider it the best conducted prison we ever saw, for prisoners after conviction, the article of bedding alone excepted, which certainly appears to us by no means sufficient even for the summer season.

"That, for prisoners before conviction, we think directly the contrary, inasmuch as no provision is made for them, but bread and water, and the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of obtaining admission for their friends to see them, renders it a melancholy and dangerous situation, and appears to us contrary to the principle of our happy Constitution, which has wisely provided that no punishment ought to take place till after conviction.

"The case of Mary Rich, that first induced us to visit that place, is a case in point, she being a person who has suffered a severe injury, for which she is about to prosecute, has been confined there more than a month, without any provision but bread and water, and whose friends, from their poverty, and other difficulties, have not sent her any animal food but twice during that time; she is now exceedingly ill, and we think it our duty to say she ought to be immediately removed from that place, and put under the care of proper persons, with every comfort and convenience the nature of her case requires.

"The appearance of the infirmary is very favourable, but few sick, and none apparently dangerous, and visited by the Doctor every day; but the other parts of the prison appear not to be so well attended to, we having found two persons in separate cells (one locked up), both very ill, and who do not appear to have been properly attended by the Doctor; those circumstances we particularly

was obliged during the rigours of a hard winter, to jump from his table to his bed, and from his bed to the ground, in order to produce such an encreased circulation of the blood as should diffuse warmth through his half-frozen veins.*

We are happy to announce, however, for the honour of humanity, that he was removed to another chamber; but some doubts must be entertained, whether any portion of Cold Bath-fields presents the comforts of a common jail, or whether the dominion

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particularly recommend to your serious and attentive enquiry, trusting, at the same time, that the same sentiments that induced us to obtain this information, will also influence you to render the situation of the unhappy persons confined there as free from complaints of this kind as the nature of their cases will admit.

(Signed)

"JOHN CAMPBELL, *Foreman.*	WILLIAM AVELING
THOMAS FLIGHT	WILLIAM THOMPSON
HENRY HALL	WILLIAM MARCHANT
B. DEACON	WILLIAM NEWPORT
JOHN NAISH	JOHN STUBBS
ROBERT CRIBB	J. SAUNDERS
WILLIAM SMITH	MR. GREYLING
NICHOLAS GARLING	MR. BELLINGER
C. CHARLSWORTH	MR. WYLLEY."

* Colonel Despard was, for the first sixteen months of his imprisonment in Cold-Bath-fields, confined in a cell six feet by eight, without table or chair, without the use of a knife or fork, fire or candle, the floor stone, the walls unplastered brick; the windows iron grates, and wooden shutters! The furniture was a bed consisting of three oak planks (two feet and a-half wide), a flock matrass, with a couple of blankets and a horse rug. At first, for many weeks, his allowance was bread and water; he was afterwards allowed a small portion of such meat as even hunger could hardly induce him to eat.

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of Governor Aris be such as mild and benevolent characters, even if they advocated measures of this kind, would be disposed to approve.

But this is not all. Sometime since it was whispered, that the residence of the *state prisoners* was dangerous in the vicinity of the metropolis, and Colonel Despard was accordingly removed to the House of Industry at Shrewsbury, whence he was lately brought back to Tothill-fields-bridewell. On the expiration of the Suspension Act, we have been assured that he was offered his liberty, on condition of giving bail for his appearance; but we are told that he refused to comply with this intimation, which he considered as an impeachment of his innocence. On the contrary, he applied to one of the courts of law, either to be brought to trial or dismissed, but without effect. He has since been liberated on his own *recognizance* to appear when called on.

In the course of this narrative, great care has been taken not to mention any thing that might be deemed offensive. It is not here meant to say, that Colonel Despard is either guilty or innocent; or that his persecutors have been actuated by base or by justifiable motives. The writer however trusts, that the Colonel will be at least gratified by a public and solemn trial, and that those who have advised and continued measures of rigour will not escape from a responsibility by means of a general bill of indemnity.*

* Since the above sketch was drawn, a bill of Indemnity has actually passed!

THE RIGHT HON. LORD SHEFFIELD,

BARON OF ROSCOMMON, &c.

IT must afford great pleasure to every reflecting mind to behold persons of rank and fortune uniting and blending together, in their youth, the characters of legislator and soldier; for this is one of the best securities against the inroads of arbitrary power: it being scarcely credible that those men, entrusted with the formation of our laws, should be base and treacherous enough, at one and the same time, to deprive the country of its liberties, and themselves of the rank and importance which they hold in the grand council of the nation.

Our satisfaction is still further increased, when we see the statesman and the soldier, towards the latter part of his life, dedicating his leisure hours to literature; pointing out the means that can alone contribute to the prosperity of his country; cultivating the society of men of genius; and pursuing the same honourable career himself.

John Baker Holroyd, Lord Sheffield, of the kingdom of Ireland, is the second son of Isaac Holroyd,* Esq. who lived to the age of seventy, by Miss Dorothea, the youngest daughter of Daniel Baker, of Penn, in the county of Bucks; a lady who also saw many years roll over her head, and who died at Sheffield Place, in the county of Sussex, after she had at-

* Mr. Holroyd, the father of Lord Sheffield, was born in July, 1708, and died May 11, 1778.

tained her seventy-third. His family, by his father's side, was originally settled in Yorkshire, where it flourished as early as the time of Edward I. The name, indeed, is seldom to be met with out of the West Riding, and is very common towards the borders of Lancashire, where, as we are informed, it has given local appellations to some of the neighbouring hamlets. By his mother's side he inherits a considerable fortune; and when the good old lady died in 1777, he added her maiden name of Baker to his own *patronymick*.

Mr. Holroyd, after the usual preliminary education, entered into the army, having always entertained a taste for military affairs, and obtained a troop of light-horse, in a regiment raised by the Marquis of Granby, so early as the year 1760. No higher rank was procured by him during the short remainder of the war; and when peace took place, about three years after, he passed over to the continent, and travelled through the principal states in Europe. His prospects in life were now considerably enlarged, for his elder brother had died while an infant, and his only surviving one, Daniel, fell at the desperate assault of the Moro Castle, during the siege of the Havannah. Thus, as there was only a sister to provide for, the bulk of the family fortune would of course devolve upon him.

After about four years residence in foreign parts, Captain H. returned to his native country; and in 1767 married Miss Abigail Way, the only daughter of a gentleman of considerable opulence. About this period a just idea of the importance of agriculture,

ture, as tending to form the true greatness of a nation, had gone forth, and was ably supported and generally diffused by the *Œconomists* on the continent. This theory began also to be adopted in our own country, and it was ably supported and warmly countenanced by Mr. Holroyd, who now resided at Sheffield-House, in the county of Sussex. Not content with adorning a noble mansion and extensive park, he himself took a considerable tract of land into his own hands, and became a farmer on a great scale. Being above vulgar prejudices, he of course scouted many of the common errors, and acted from a regular and enlightened theory. In consequence of this he found ample opportunity to improve his own notions, and also to contribute to the improvement of others, by the introduction of new modes of labour and melioration.

It was in this manner he employed his leisure hours as an agriculturist, acting at the same time as a magistrate, and thus rendering himself at once respectable and useful as a country gentleman, until the unhappy disputes with our colonies occurred. This, as was indeed foreseen by all the able politicians of the day, at length involved us in a war with several of the European powers. In 1778 Louis XVI. taking advantage of the disgrace and discomfiture attendant on the capitulation of Saratoga, declared against us. On this occasion the militia was called out, and that of Sussex, embodied under the command of the Duke of Richmond, when the subject of these memoirs accepted of a majority. In the course

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of the next year the most disastrous event recorded in our history, posterior to the Revolution took place: this was the undisputed appearance of the combined fleet of France and Spain off our coasts, which struck terror and dismay throughout the empire. At that critical period Major Holroyd stepped forward, and, while this powerful armament was hovering on our shores, made an offer of raising a regiment of light dragoons without expence to the public. This was most readily and graciously accepted by the executive power, and the *commandant* was of course permitted to nominate his own officers.

Few men in the kingdom were, perhaps, better fitted for this undertaking. Colonel Holroyd possessed great wealth and influence in the county; he had himself served in the light horse; he possessed the most indefatigable application, and was, in every point of view, qualified to undertake the command. We accordingly find that the "Sussex regiment of light dragoons" was recruited, completed, and mustered in the course of a few weeks; and, although never brought into active service, was yet properly fitted and adapted for that purpose, had the exigency of the times rendered their employment necessary. The commanding officer, however, found means to distinguish himself during the riots that prevailed in London in 1780, on which occasion he exhibited equal courage and ability. He was one of the first, if not the very first man, who opposed and repressed the violence of the *banditti*, which at that time infested, plundered, and set fire to the metropolis.

Placing

Placing himself at the head of a detachment of the * northern militia, he put a stop to their ravages at the house of an eminent Roman-catholic distiller, of the name of Langdale, in High Holborn, and demonstrated what might have been done had the spirit and zeal of such men been brought earlier into action. It has indeed been supposed, but with what justice we are unable to determine, that the grand question of *parliamentary reform*, agitated about this period, contributed not a little to the relaxation of all authority, both civil and military, and that the † premier of that day, who was the sworn enemy of popular election, was not totally averse from exhibiting a specimen of popular anarchy!

In February, 1780, Colonel Holroyd having expressed an inclination to be returned to parliament, he had the good fortune to be elected, without any opposition, for Coventry. We believe that he did not possess any property either in that place or its neighbourhood, and that this desirable event was merely produced in consequence of a temporary residence there, and an occasional connexion with the inhabitants, that city having been for some time the head quarters of the Sussex regiment of light dragoons.

In the course of the same session in which he was chosen, Colonel H. did not speak often, we believe, within the walls of St. Stephen's chapel, although he

* The Northumberland. † Lord North.

is said to have made a very *energetic speech*, not unaccompanied with threats of personal violence to a nobleman in the outer gallery. Lord George Gordon, whose conduct at this period can only be conceived by those who possess an adequate idea of what fanaticism and superstition are capable of achieving, was accustomed to leave his seat, and go out to the people assembled in the lobby, in order to tell them who was then speaking, and what was at that moment doing in the house. On this Mr. Holroyd, fearing lest such inflammatory conduct might lead to the most dangerous extremities, took hold of his lordship, and, after using some menaces, remarked: "that heretofore he had imputed his behaviour to *madness* alone, but that now he was fully convinced there was more *malice than madness in it.*" He, at the same time, informed him, that in case the safety of any of the members of that house was endangered, he should consider him as the instigator, and inflict immediate vengeance with his own hand!

Colonel Holroyd had not sat above a twelvemonth in parliament when a general election ensued, and with it a violent contest took place; indeed it is more than probable that his own individual return would not, on a former occasion, have been accompanied with such seeming unanimity, had it not been that the short period for which a seat could be retained was not worth *contending* for, on one hand, nor of *disposing of*, on the other. Future events at least afforded a colourable pretext for this idea.

Be this as it may, when the general election took place

place in September, a violent struggle ensued, and an incident of a very novel nature occurred; for Mr. H. having now become very unpopular with the members of the corporation, not only was his own re-election prevented by their means, but no return whatever was made. This business was at length brought before the proper judicature, that of the House of Commons, which will not permit the courts below to interfere with their paramount jurisdiction. Lord Viscount Beauchamp, now Marquis of Hertford, distinguished himself at this period by his zeal in behalf of what he conceived to be the franchises of the subject, as well as in consequence of his personal attachment to the petitioner, and the sheriffs of Coventry were committed prisoners to the jail of Newgate, and a new election ordered to take place.

This accordingly commenced in November; and such was the rancour, animosity, and injustice of the corporation, notwithstanding there was a great majority in favour of Holroyd and Yeo, Sir Thomas Hallifax and Mr. Rogers were returned. This produced a new petition, and a new altercation, but Messrs. Holroyd and Yeo finally triumphed. Without entering into particulars, we may be allowed cursorily to remark, that many instances of venality and corruption took place during this election, and that some of the candidates incurred expences which they were not very well qualified to support, on the one hand, while, on the other, their conduct at length produced mortification and contempt.

About this period Colonel Holroyd experienced a signal

signal instance of his majesty's notice, the king being pleased to create him a peer of Ireland, by the style and title of Lord Sheffield, Baron of Dunamore, in the county of Meath, Dec. 18, 1780. Three years after this an alteration took place in his patent, he being created Lord Sheffield, Baron of Roscommon, with remainder of the latter title, in failure of issue male, severally to his daughters, and their issue male, Sept. 20, 1783.

Nor was Lord Sheffield unthankful for these repeated instances of favour, conferred, no doubt, at the express solicitation of the minister of the day; for we have reason to think that he supported Lord North's unfortunate administration with an uniform zeal, and some years afterwards became allied to the family of Guilford, by means of a marriage with one of his lordship's daughters.

Towards the close of the American war Lord S. began to study the nature of the commerce, revenues, and resources of this country in a more particular manner than heretofore. He also became an author, and in a publication on the trade of the United States of America, gave ample proofs of his industry to investigate, and sagacity to develope the interests of Great Britain. In consequence of this he was a great advocate for the maintenance of the Navigation Act, and the extension of the carrying trade of this country; and when Mr. Pitt, "in his youthful ardour (to use his lordship's own words) for grasping the advantages of the American commerce," brought in "a Bill for the provisional Establishment and Regulation

gulation of Trade and Intercourse between the Subjects of Great Britain and those of the United States of America," Lord S. saw the dangerous tendency of the measure, and opposed it with a manly firmness. "Had it passed into a law," adds he, "it would have affected our most essential interests in every branch of commerce, and in every part of the world; it would have deprived of their efficacy our navigation laws, and undermined the naval power of Britain."

What he said and wrote at that time on this subject attracted general attention; and the city of Glasgow expressed its gratitude and esteem by presenting him with its civic honours, having unanimously chosen him a member of their corporation, "in testimony of the just sense entertained of his zeal for, and attention to, the interests of the commerce of Great Britain, as well as for the public spirited and well timed exertions manifested by his lordship, by which the navigation laws and the carrying trade, so essential to the prosperity and power of Britain, have been preserved at a moment when they were in the most imminent danger of being lost to this country."

We have already adverted to the part which the subject of these memoirs has always taken in politics; it may not be amiss, however, to remark, that he has in general expressed a marked dislike to Mr. Fox and all his measures. Indeed the very first time Lord Sheffield (then Colonel Holroyd) spoke in the House of Commons, he attacked what he was pleased to term "the turbulent ambition," and "popular declamatory eloquence" of that great statesman; and after listening

with

with attention to an oration of that gentleman, which extorted admiration from both sides of the house, he adverted to the "excessive praises" that were generally bestowed on Mr. F.'s oratory, and declared that, from the specimen he had then heard, he was astonished "that the house could be so fascinated by it."

As a very powerful opposition had taken place against Lord Sheffield in the city of Coventry, he bent his thoughts towards another part of the kingdom. Having so ably discussed the subject of trade, he aspired to represent the third commercial city of the empire, and accordingly canvassed Bristol. In addition to the support of several respectable merchants, he added that of Dean Tucker, like himself, a commercial politician; and it was undoubtedly to the latter circumstance that he was indebted for his election, as the Dean possessed a powerful interest, in consequence of his station, his fortune, and his talents. He, however, had no common man to contend with, as Mr. Burke, the rival candidate, was at that period in the zenith of his glory, for he had not as yet rendered his principles equivocal by the acceptance of a pension!

During election contests trivial mistakes are, on the one hand, magnified into crimes, while the most exalted virtues, on the other, are misrepresented into vices; thus, in conformity to the narrow notions of traders, that great orator was blamed.

1. Because he had taken an active part in the very humane bill introduced by the present Marquis of Hertford, (then Lord Beauchamp) for restraining ar-

rests

rests and imprisonments for trifling debts; and, 2. because he had voted in conformity to the liberal and enlightened policy since adopted and recognized—that of extending the trade of Ireland.

The third charge was not made by Lord Sheffield's friends, but by the spirited and independent men who had supported Mr. Burke from principle, and principle alone—a neglect of the instructions of his constituents, to which his reply was rather brilliant than satisfactory: "that he had been chosen along with others to be a pillar of the state, *and not a weather-cock on the top of the edifice, exalted for his levity and versatility, and of no use but to indicate the shiftings of every fashionable gale.*"

Owing to these, and a variety of other circumstances, such as the support of both church and state, Lord Sheffield became representative for the city of Bristol; and it is to be lamented that he has given them a ready and unequivocal support, so far as they may be interested in the ever-odious slave trade.*

No man, either in or out of parliament, has paid more attention to the commercial interests of this country than Lord Sheffield. When the new "Corn Bill" was brought in, in 1790, he opposed it in all its stages.

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* "I have seen a planter, whose name was Chaperon, who forced one of his negroes to go into a heated oven, where the poor wretch expired; and his jaws being shrivelled up, the barbarous Chaperon said, "I believe the fellow laughs," and took a poker to stir him up. From that time he grew a fcarecrow to the slaves, who, when they had done any thing amiss, were threatened by their masters with "I will sell thee to Chaperon."—*Note in Bossu's Travels, translated by Forster.*

stages. On Tuesday, February 22, he objected to it both in principle and detail. He remarked, that the intention might be to "encourage agriculture, and guard against scarcity;" but it went, in his opinion, to "discourage agriculture, and force this to depend on foreign countries for the supply of grain." On the 10th of March, when the table of stated prices came under discussion, he pointed out the extreme folly of purchasing foreign corn "at the public expence;" and on April 4, his lordship, after exhibiting the superiority which America and Ireland would possess over this country in the growth of their corn, paid an unusual, and, we may add, an unwilling tribute to the French revolution, by pointing out the eminent advantages of being "unfettered by tythes and absurd corn laws!"

When the Quebec bill was debated, he objected to the expediency of dividing that province into two governments, and ridiculed the idea of building a town for the seat of the new one on the most distant part of Lake Ontario.

He also opposed the *Sierra Leone* company bill, in the year 1791; but he was answered on this occasion by Mr. Thornton and others, who successfully vindicated the measure on the score of humanity.

We are now sorry to have arrived at that period of his lordship's political conduct, in which we are necessarily obliged to differ from him; the resistance of all attempts to meliorate the ever infamous and ever execrable slave trade: and on this occasion it is to be hoped that he either advocated the cause solely in

in a commercial point of view, without permitting his feelings and his justice to be awakened, or implicitly obeyed the voice of a powerful body of his constituents, the *men-merchants* of the city of Bristol *.

When this measure was attempted in 1792, and ably supported both by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, he reprobated the strong language made use of by the former of these gentlemen, and attempted to vindicate the character of Captain Kimber, "a cruelly injured man, who was then in Newgate." He however at length assented to the proposition of putting a stop to the *importation* of negroes into the colonies, when that subject came to be finally discussed, but it was in such a reluctant manner, that it appeared to be a kind of compromise, in order to prevent something worse—not a ready acquiescence in a just and necessary measure. Here follows a minute of his speech:

"Lord Sheffield deprecated the dangerous and mischievous

* Judge Jefferies was no enemy to the *slave trade*, and yet the following speech to the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol might be to the full as appropriate, at the period alluded to above, as during the reign of the bigotted and despotic James II.

"I have brought a brush in my pocket to rub off your dirt; I tell you I have brought a stout besom, with which I will sweep every man's door, both within and without, for in good truth you want rubbing: the dirt of your ditch is in your nostrils.—Where am I?—in Bristol, a city in which it seems you claim the privilege of hanging, drawing, and quartering; a privilege you ought to enjoy at least once a month. I have a calendar of your city in my hands, and hope before I have done to hang one half of you at least."

consequences resulting from the frequent agitation of this question. Some gentlemen urged their theories to the very brink of ruin, but as Mr. Dundas's measures (those leading to a gradual abolition, which has never been effected) seemed calculated to arrest the mischief, by effectually serving the country, they demanded and should receive his warmest support. He was exceedingly concerned that, in his opinion, the abolition of the slave trade could never be carried into effect by the proposition of last year, unless we were to shut up the ports in the West Indies; and it was too well known to need a comment, what destruction to our trade that would occasion. The act for shutting up the port of Boston was indeed a precedent; but it was such a one as it would be more prudent to avoid than to follow. It was true, we had a right to say the slave trade, as far as it regarded us, should be abolished: but were we prepared to say the ports should not be supplied by other means? We had a right to do what we pleased with the property which we derived to ourselves from this trade; but we had no right to injure others. If we were constitutionally empowered to forbid the importation of *live flesh*, we might equally forbid that of *dead flesh*, and thus completely starve our colonies. We had a right, it was true, to enjoin all owners and captains of British ships not to take on board an African slave; but what right had we to dictate to the planters, and say, they should not supply themselves with slaves, either by purchasing them from other nations, or importing them in their own ships, and under the authority of their own laws? He wished the cessation of the trade by removing the necessity of importing negroes. We should then be consistent as well as humane. We should remember that our colonies were entitled to the protection of our colonial law. He begged it to be understood, that those who were the warmest friends to the abolition of the trade, acted unjustifiably, when they charged their opponents with inhumanity; the fact was, they saw the danger of these discussions; they saw that these discussions might lead the negroes to place themselves in a situation they were not fit for, because proceedings here were misrepresented to them. Insurrections might ensue, and if murder was the consequence, he could not help saying, that our modern declaimers would, in fact, be the cause of these murders.

"He

"He felt himself entitled to complain, on another account, in the course of these proceedings; for, of all violent reformers of the traffic, upon what they called the principles of *justice and humanity*, not one of them had the candour to come forward and say, that those whose property was to be sacrificed in this pursuit, should have any compensation whatever for their losses. Much stress had been laid on the number of petitions presented for the abolition of the slave trade. Upon this he felt himself entitled also to observe, that Parliament should not listen to these petitions, nor indulge the wishes of those who presented them: for the mode in which they had been obtained, rendered them totally unworthy of attention in a grave and enlightened assembly. They had been obtained by artifice, influence, and deception; by a mode truly unconstitutional; and he did not consider this interference of a certain class of persons, who had no particular interest to support, much better than the *Jacobins* in France.

"The truth was, that if the trade should be abolished at all, considerable time should be allowed for that purpose; a short period would by no means answer even the desire of the abolitionists themselves. He was of opinion, that the earliest time for the abolition was the year 1800."

A few days after this his lordship asserted, that he was not to be captivated by a "splendid abuse of words;" that he was confirmed in his former opinion, and "that the miserable half-measure of an abolition at the end of three years was the most contemptible of all, not having the glory, if it deserved that appellation, of an *immediate* abolition, nor the merit of a *gradual* abolition."

When the "New Forest bill" was agitated,* Lord Sheffield, in a manly manner, and with very considerable effect, disclosed his opinions upon this subject. He pointed out the impolicy of copyholds, so

* May 3, 1792.

far as the cultivation of timber-trees is concerned, it being the interest of the copyholder to suffer no tree to grow beyond a certain standard. "He wished," he said, "that copyholders might be timber-free, and that heriots and arbitrary fines should be compensated: one checked improvement in the breed of cattle, and the other in respect to building and agriculture. Nothing could be more odious," he added, "than the barbarous custom of lords of manors hovering round the house of a person on his death-bed, and the moment that the family is in the greatest distress, rushing in to seize the best cattle or best furniture, and if they do not find enough to their minds, seizing favourite dogs. In short, we had better part with such unworthy and unnecessary privileges for a valuable compensation, than wait until they are wrested from us with all the violence that had been experienced in a neighbouring kingdom." These are liberal and enlightened sentiments, and we trust that they will not be forgotten!

Lord Sheffield has been twice married. His first lady, to whom he became united in 1783, was sister to Benjamin Way, Esq. Governor of the South Sea Company. With her he had a son who died young, and two daughters still alive: in default of male issue these are to inherit the barony. She died suddenly on April 3, 1793, at his lordship's house in Downing Street, after being married twenty-five years. Her ladyship was tender and humane, and having felt, with an uncommon degree of sympathy, for the unfortunate victims of the French revolution, she

she fitted up an hospital for the reception of such of them in her own neighbourhood as were afflicted by disease, while she opened her house and table to the nobility and clergy *. His present lady, who is sister

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* The following character of Lady Sheffield was published immediately after her death, probably by one who had experienced her bounty :

" *La société, les ames vertueuses, les malheureux surtout, et les indigens, viennent d'éprouver une perte aussi affreuse qu'imprévue. Lady Sheffield vient d'être enlevée en quatre jours par une mort prématurée. La plus respectable des femmes, des épouses, des meres, des amies. Des mœurs aussi douces que pures. Un esprit aussi modeste qu'éclairé. Un cœur également noble et sensible. Une commisération dont la délicatesse égaloit la prodigalité ; voilà ce que pleurent aujourd'hui tous ceux qui ont connu Lady Sheffield. Depuis les désastres qui ont,*" &c.

" Society in general, and the virtuous in particular, but more especially the unfortunate and indigent, have suffered a severe and sudden loss. An unexpected death has taken off in four days Lady Sheffield, the most respectable of women, of wives, mothers, and friends : of manners as gentle as pure ; of a mind as modest as improved ; of a heart alike noble and sensible ; and of a pity whose delicacy was equal to its prodigality. Such are the qualities lamented by all who knew her. Ever since the disastrous events that have thrown among us so many victims of the French frenzy, she has rivalled her generous partner and lord in softening the lot of so many unhappy persons. Priests, laity, men, women, of all ranks and opinions, provided they were honest and unfortunate, found protection in the house, relief in the bounty, and comfort in the friendship of this virtuous couple. It is to be feared that Lady Sheffield fell a victim to her zeal and goodness. For some time she had been afflicted with a violent and almost incessant pain in her side, which did not however interrupt the course of her benevolence. Sometimes she with her own hands administered relief to the French women, thus sparing their delicacy while she provided for their wants : at other times

sister to the Earl of Guilford, is a woman of high accomplishments and most excellent understanding.

Lord Sheffield, as a public speaker, is rather distinguished by clearness of intellect than a flowery eloquence, and by a bold and energetic way of thinking more than by a flow of words. He possesses an ample fortune, a sociable turn of mind, and a healthful and active body. No man seems to understand our agricultural system better than his lordship. In a pamphlet, published in 1791, termed "Observations on the Corn Bill" then depending in Parliament, he enters into an able and sedulous examination of the present state of this country, so far as the production or the commerce of grain are concerned. With a spirit of prophecy, or at least with a spirit of foresight that would have averted many of our present calamities, he contends that we are gradually becoming dependent on other countries

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she brought them medical assistants, although she did not consult them in her own case. In concert with her husband she commissioned their friends to find out all the unfortunate sick emigrants, whom she placed in an hospital, of which her brother is governor; and she furnished clothes to those who wanted.

"She had just fitted up a house for the accommodation of those who, by contagious diseases, were kept at a distance from all places of relief. On Good Friday she spent near two hours in this hospital, and two more at church, in extreme cold weather. On Saturday morning a pleurisy came on. On Tuesday the symptoms of death appeared; and the next morning she died, leaving her family and friends in the deepest affliction. All the unfortunate persons whom she was acquainted with regret her loss; and there is not a French emigrant but must bedew her ashes with tears."

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for subsistence, although England be capable of raising corn for the consumption of her own inhabitants. In consequence of this acknowledged fact, he recommends that every encouragement should be held out to the growers of corn, whose spirit would of course be damped by the proposed system of establishing warehouses for foreign corn. Since that period, however, the pressure of an unhappy war has induced ministers to recur to the pernicious system of *taxing the plough*, and, although the farmers be encouraged for the present by high prices, yet it is evident that no general, permanent, and beneficial melioration has been brought forward to counteract the daily increasing burdens resulting from the poor-rates.

In opposition to the opinions of many former writers, which also seem to be contradicted by the surer test of experience, Lord Sheffield boldly asserts, "that it is a fallacious idea that corn can be possibly grown in this country under all the circumstances of taxes, &c. at a lower price than it was the last century, and that the attempt to reduce the price of corn below its proper level must eventually produce the very scarcity it is intended to prevent." These positions are no longer paradoxical, and they were even then, at a period of ten years distance, strengthened by able argument and valuable information.

Since this, his lordship has written a pamphlet, published by him in three separate and successive parts, illustrative of his former theories, and replete

with remarks on the subject of the present scarcity, which we shall mention hereafter.

About the year 1780 Lord S. published a first, and in 1783 appeared a second edition of his "Observations on the Commerce of the American States." This work was originally written in direct opposition to Mr. Pitt's *first attempts* at commercial regulations, and he pointedly alludes to this statesman when he observes,

"That systems have been preferred to experience, rash theory to successful practice, and the Navigation Act itself, the guardian of the prosperity of Britain, has been almost abandoned by the levity or ignorance of those who have never seriously examined the spirit or the consequence of ancient rules. Our calmer reflections will soon discover, that such great sacrifices are neither requisite nor expedient; and the knowledge of the imports and exports of the American states, will afford us facts and principles to ascertain the value of their trade, to foresee their true interest and probable conduct, and to choose the wisest measures (the wisest are always the most simple) for securing and improving the benefits of a commercial intercourse with this foreign and independent nation.

"For it is in the light of a foreign country," adds he, "that America must henceforward be viewed; it is the situation which she herself has chosen by asserting her independence; and the whimsical definition of a people *sui generis*, is either a figure of rhetoric which conveys no distinct idea, or the effort of cunning, to unite at the same time the advantages of two inconsistent characters. By asserting their independence, the Americans have renounced the privileges as well as the duties of British subjects; they are become foreign states; and if in some instances, as in the loss of the carrying-trade, they feel the inconvenience of their choice, they can no longer complain; but if they are placed on the footing of the most favoured nation, they must surely applaud our liberality and friendship, without expecting, that for

their

their emolument we should sacrifice the navigation and the naval power of Great Britain. By this simple, if only temporary expedient, we shall escape the unknown mischiefs of crude and precipitate systems, we shall avoid the rashness of hasty and pernicious concessions, which can never be resumed without provoking the jealousy, and perhaps not without an entire commercial breach with America.

"In the youthful ardour for grasping the advantages of the American trade, a bill* still depending was first introduced into Parliament. Had it passed into a law, it would have affected our most serious interests in every branch of commerce, and to every part of the world; it would have deprived of their efficacy our navigation laws, and greatly reduced the naval power of Great Britain; it would have endangered the repose of Ireland, and excited the just indignation of Russia and other countries; and the West India planters would have been the only subjects of Great Britain who could derive any benefit, however partial and transient, from their open intercourse directly with the American states, and indirectly with the rest of the world. Fortunately some delays have intervened, and if we diligently use the opportunity of reflection, the future welfare of our country may depend on this salutary pause."

The best eulogium that can be made on this pamphlet, perhaps, is the bare mention of the fact, that his lordship's exertions altered the crude plans of the then minister, and produced others more friendly to the interests of this country.

Nor did Lord Sheffield, while he inquired into the remote springs of our wealth and commerce, forget the ills of a more recent period, for in 1800 he published a work, entitled "Remarks on the Deficiency

* Mr. Pitt's bill "for the provisional establishment and regulation of trade and intercourse between the subjects of Great Britain and those of the United States of America."

of Grain, occasioned by the bad Harvest of 1799; on the Means of present Relief and of future Plenty: with an Appendix, containing Accounts of all Corn imported and exported, with the Prices from 1697 to the 10th October 1800," &c. According to his lordship *our present difficulties* are dependent on and blended with those which arose in consequence of the harvest alluded to above. The average yearly consumption, according to him, is about eight millions of quarters, and, according to the best opinions, the crop of the year 1799 was not so much as two thirds of the crop necessary for the usual consumption of Great Britain and its dependencies: the deficiency therefore amounted to 2,666,666 quarters, which it became incumbent either to supply from the stock in hand of the former crop (the premature consumption of which would produce scarcity the ensuing year), or by importation. In short, his lordship is anxious to have it understood, that a *real scarcity*, and that too to a considerable amount, has existed from 1799 to the present hour; and he equally exculpates the farmers, the millers, the corn-dealers, and the factors, from the charge of monopoly *.

This work is very able, and yet it abounds with some paradoxes, for while it recommends *household bread*, (which, thank God, we are no longer poisoned with!)

* Lord S. is of opinion, that corn cannot be monopolized to any great extent in such a country as this: " to have monopolized," says he, " only one month's consumption in this last summer, would have required a capital of nearly five millions sterling."

with !) as the most wholesome and nutritive food, being made from the whole meal with only the bran taken out, yet it is allowed that this is so subject to adulteration, that a well-informed evidence stated to the Privy Council, " that when the flour is made of the whole of the meal, it is impossible to tell whether the miller, mealman, or baker, have taken any fine flour out of it." In another place it is remarked by his lordship, that the attack upon farmers is highly unjust: " for nothing can be more gross than that credulity which supposes a farmer would hoard up any quantity of wheat when he can get an uncommonly high price for it." He also asserts, after Smith, " that rich farmers are a public benefit; that they improve agriculture; and *that they keep magazines or stocks of grain without any expence to the public.*"

The bold and manly manner in which Lord S. expressed his sentiments towards the close of the last session of Parliament (on Tuesday June 30, 1801), deserves to be particularised, and we gladly seize this opportunity of giving a sketch of his speech.

When Mr. Addington, the *new Minister*, brought up a report from the Committee on " Bills of Inclosure," Lord S. arose and said,

" That the country was much indebted to his honourable Friend (Mr. A.) for the attention he had paid to the standing orders, and to the act which had just passed relative to inclosures. They may be of some use," added he, " particularly in saving expence in respect to witnesses; but they are utterly inadequate to the exigency, and the country will be much disappointed, and in his opinion had reason to be dissatisfied, if it should be supposed this is all that is intended to be done. He said the people had

had suffered exceedingly, particularly during the two last years, from something more serious than mere apprehension of famine. A scarcity of grain had raised the price in this and other countries with which we trade, so high as would have been prohibitory to the use of it to a great proportion of the community, unless we had yielded to the dangerous policy of feeding the people at the public expence.

"To alleviate the distress we had enacted in the course of two years that they should eat *stale bread*, and we have granted protecting duties which may bring here the limited quantity that can be had from other countries; in consequence of this we have raised the price abroad so high, that the present protecting duties will not indemnify the importer, particularly from America.

"To obviate the recurrence of such distress, the country loudly called for a general inclosure and cultivation of the waste lands as a certain and only sure relief; and in answer to their prayers, we have just passed an act which it was obvious to every person who understood the subject, could do very little indeed towards the attainment of the object in question.

"He observed, that there was a disposition to do every thing that can be done for the relief of the country, which disposition was checked by an apprehension that certain persons in another place would give obstruction. It was also common to say, *that no essential measure must be attempted*; *that we should endeavour to get a little at a time, and that by trying for more the whole would be lost*, &c. He on the other hand begged leave to observe, that in the mean time the country might starve and be ruined; that he should ever reprobate such language, and that the members of that house would be unworthy their situations, if they were to be prevented from bringing forward measures that may save the nation from famine and bankruptcy.

"If we should not succeed, the people would be at least satisfied we had done our duty, and the public dissatisfaction would fall only on those whose ill-founded opinions and views, whatever they may be, counteract the public welfare.

"He then remarked that we must not be deterred from attempting to relieve the country by high sounding phrases, such as "that a commutation for tithe in kind, would sap the foundation of all property:" those to whom that kind of argument is addressed, must

must be imagined very ignorant and very weak; it seems to suppose that *moduses*, which are mere commutations for tithe, had not existed for many centuries in this country; it seems to pass over the circumstance that the greater part of the acts of Inclosure do the same thing, and allot land for tithes.

"He then added, that the distress of the country had been, and is great: he therefore had much pleasure in learning, that several gentlemen had the intention of bringing forward something on the subject; it afforded him great satisfaction, thinking as he did, that it would be otherwise incumbent on him to offer some measure to parliament.

"He flattered himself his Majesty's Ministers would introduce some great measure; he knew they had not neglected the subject in question, and that they would fairly consider the dangerous consequence of depending on other countries for subsistence, the uncertainty of it, and the ruinous expence if we could obtain the quantity of grain we wanted: "they will find," added his lordship, "that on an average of the last ten years, we had paid 3,300,000l. annually to foreign countries for grain; and in the last year, namely 1800, we had paid upwards of 10,649,000l. which is more than double the heretofore boasted balance of trade in our favour.

"He concluded by saying, that he should not then trouble the house further than by moving: "That in all bills for the inclosing or improving any waste or uncultivated lands, there be inserted a clause, empowering and directing the Commissioners to mark out or award unto the tithe owner, an allotment of such waste and uncultivated lands, to be once ring-fenced by the proprietors of the adjoining allotments thereof, in lieu of all tithes to arise from all such waste and uncultivated lands."

"He observed, that this merely related to land that had never paid any tithe; and that he knew the cultivation of large tracts was prevented in consequence of the difficulties which arose with respect to the tithes."*

Lord Sheffield is about sixty years of age. In re-

* Mr. Bragge the brother-in-law of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, having objected the late period of the session, Lord Sheffield withdrew his motion.

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spect to person, his lordship is rather below the middle size, but he possesses a keen and animated aspect, and seems formed by nature for both mental and corporeal activity.

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM.

LATE SECRETARY AT WAR, &c. &c.

THE lives of our contemporaries are undoubtedly interesting, but those of the statesmen who live during the same period with ourselves, must be allowed to be edifying in no common degree. It is to them we are indebted for the prosperity or the misfortunes of our country; for the extension or diminution of our territories; for the adoption or rejection of odious imposts—in short, for all that can endear, or render life miserable. Of these men we are proud when they support the fame, the dignity, the glory of our nation; when they repress arbitrary power; when they vindicate expiring liberty; when they die with, or only live to restore the lost freedom of their native land. To such we give a generous latitude, and a liberal interpretation, in respect to their conduct; they may pause during an awful crisis; they may oppose their former friends; they may even league with their former enemies—and yet still possess the esteem of their countrymen. Of this indeed, they can be deprived only by the most flagrant inconsistency; for they may change their opinions without losing our confidence, provided they do not *profit* by the change. It is then, and not until then, that the pseudo-patriot

incurs

incurs our suspicions, and we begin to consider his conduct at least equivocal.

Mr. Windham was born in, and is descended from ancestors who have been long settled in the county of Norfolk, in which he possesses a small patrimony. His family appears to have sided with the Whigs, and to have given its aid in forwarding one of the darling schemes of that party—the establishment of a national militia. One of his near relatives accepted a commission as Colonel of the battalion of his native district, and seems to have been particularly anxious to establish such a system of discipline as should render the *corps* respectable. In order to achieve this, he actually published a treatise on the subject in 1759, and in the preface has given a curious and interesting account of the improvements made in the fire arms used by the moderns.*

After

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* We shall present the reader with a short quotation from the introduction to Colonel Windham's 'Plan of Discipline,' composed for the use of the militia of the county of Norfolk, and published in 1759:

" The hatchet used by the Franks or ancient French, was used as a missile weapon, they throwing it in the same manner as the North American Indians do theirs, which they call a tomahawk.

" The Gascons and Genoese were excellent cross bow-men. The Swiss owed their victories to their strength and skill in the use of the pike, halberd, and espadon, or two-handed sword; and the victories of Cressy, Poictiers, and Agincourt, will occasion the valour and skill of the English archers to be transmitted down to the latest posterity.

" After the invention of powder, the Spaniards were the first who armed part of their foot with muskets and harquebusses, and

mixed

After receiving the usual preliminary education at a public school, young Windham was sent to Oxford, and

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mixed them with their pikes. In this they were soon imitated by most other nations; though the English had not laid aside their long bow, and generally taken to the use of fire-arms, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

"The first muskets were very heavy, and could not be fired without a rest; they had match locks, and barrels of a wide bore that carried a large ball and charge of powder, and did execution at a great distance. The musketeers on a march carried only their rests and ammunition, and had boys to bear their muskets after them, for which they were allowed great additional pay. They were very slow in loading, not only occasioned by the unwieldiness of the pieces, and because they carried powder and balls separate, but from the time it took to prepare and adjust the match; so that their fire was not near so brisk as ours is now. Afterwards a lighter kind of match-lock musket came into use, and they carried their ammunition in bandeliers, which were broad belts that came over the shoulder, to which were hung several little cases of wood covered with leather, each containing a charge of powder; the balls they carried loose in their pouch, and they had also a priming-horn hanging by their side. Match-locks were, about the beginning of this century, universally disused in Europe, and the troops were armed with fire-locks, to which much about the same time the bayonet being added, pikes also were laid aside; which later change, whether it was for the better or not, is a point that still admits of dispute amongst the best military writers, who are divided in their opinions about it, though most of them disapprove of it.

"The old English writers call those large muskets calivers; the harquebuze was a lighter piece that could be fired without a rest. The match-lock was fired by a match fixed by a kind of tongs in a serpentine or cock, which by pulling the trigger, was brought down with great quickness upon the priming in the pan, over which there was a sliding cover, which was drawn back by hand

and entered, we believe, of Brazen-nose-College, the very name of which has doubtless put many a *modest* youth

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hand just at the time of firing. There was a great deal of nicety and care required to fit the match properly to the cock, so as to come down exactly true on the priming, to blow the ashes from the coal, and to guard the pan from the sparks that fell from it: a great deal of time was also lost in taking it out of the cock, and returning it between the fingers of the left hand every time the piece was fired; and wet weather very often rendered the matches useless. However, most writers allow that they were very sure, and less apt to miss fire than the fire-lock.

"The firelock is so called by producing fire of itself, from the action of flint and steel.

"The most ancient invention of this sort is the wheel-lock, which we find mentioned in Luize Collado's treatise of Artillery, printed at Venice 1586, as then lately invented in Germany. This sort of lock was used till within these hundred years, especially for pistols and carbines. It was composed of a solid steel wheel, with an axis, to which was fastened a chain, which by being round it drew up a very strong spring; on pulling the trigger, the spring acting, whirled the wheel about with great velocity, and the friction of the edge of it (which was a little notched) against the stone produced the fire: the cock was made so as to bring the stone upon the edge of the wheel, part of which was in the pan, and touched the priming; they used any common hard pebble for that purpose, which served as well as flint.

"These locks were inconvenient, took time to wind up, (or span as they termed it) and sometimes would not go off; an instance of which may be seen in Ludlow's Memoirs, London edit. fol. 1751, page 35.

"When the fire-lock such as we now use was invented, we cannot ascertain: it is called by writers about the middle of the last century, a snaphane, or snaphance; which being the Dutch word for a firelock, seems to indicate that it is a Dutch invention, and that we took it from them. But Ward in his animadversions

youth to the blush. He had the good fortune while there, to be placed under the care of a most excellent scholar—Winstanley, now Provost of Alban Hall, and much to the credit of the pupil, he himself had no sooner risen in the world, and obtained some degree of consideration, than he procured preferment for him also, by means of his friend the Duke of Portland, the present Chancellor, whose fortunes he is supposed to have followed, and whose defection from the ranks of opposition he has in some degree countenanced, by means of a similar conduct.

No sooner was Mr. W. released from the trammels of colleges and tutors, than he repaired to the metropolis, and soon after visited the continent—not in the splendid, gaudy, and expensive style to which our nobility and gentry are usually accustomed—but in a manner better suited to his fortune, which was but scanty,

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of War, printed in 1639, p. 502, after describing the exercise of the firelock, pistol, and carbine (by which he meant the wheel lock), says, that as most of our pieces go with English locks, which differ from firelocks, he shall add the method of handling them; and then gives the exercise of the snaphine carbine, by which it appears that there was little or no difference between that and the pieces now in use. The more modern writers call it a fusee, from the French word fusil, whence the name of fusileers is still continued to several of our regiments, which were the first that were armed with them on the disuse of match-locks.

"They used the musket and rest in England so late as the beginning of the civil wars, as may be seen in Lieutenant Colonel Bariff's Young Artillery Man, a book composed for the instruction of the militia of the city of London, and addressed to the Serjeant-Major-General Phillip Skippon, and the rest of the officers of the Trained Bands, printed at London, 1643."

scanty, and his future hopes in life which were not of a nature to warrant any ridiculous pageantry.

It was not until the epoch of the American war, that Mr. Windham found means of distinguishing himself, and then only by his zeal in opposition to the *existing government*, as some of his late associates would affect to term it—but far more properly—in opposition to the unworthy Ministers of that period. His bosom glowed with no uncommon share of indignation against those whom he accused as the subverters of our rights, and the spoilers of our wealth—men battening on corruption, and eager for despotism and military execution. These sentiments were uttered by him both in public and private; at county meetings, dinner parties, in the metropolis, and the country; from the tops of carts, and of waggons, to the freeholders, the mob, &c. &c.

The cause in which he then embarked, has been long since consecrated by success, and the overflowings of a youthful bosom will of course be pardoned, nay praised, as evincing a heart exulting in the darling theme of liberty! At the period we allude to, the Ex-Secretary was less *metaphysical* than he has become since; his arguments and his language therefore were better calculated to captivate his audience; in short, he became a popular orator—a whig—a whig too of the most determined kind—one of those capable of spending both life and fortune in the "glorious cause" in which he was engaged, and of going any lengths in support of his principles.

We ought not here to omit the mention of an in-

cident honourable to the laudable ambition of Mr. Windham.

The reign of his present Majesty has been distinguished by nautical enterprises of all kinds; and if we have failed in other matters of importance, it must be sllowed by every candid observer, that we have acted no mean part in respect to our maritime exertions. In 1773, a new voyage of discovery was projected, and entrusted to the care of the Hon. Commodore Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave. This expedition, by far the most regular and scientific of any of a similar design and tendency undertaken before that period, was first conceived by the Royal Society, and afterwards adopted by the King, with that due regard to science which it ought ever to be the object of a great and enlightened nation to cultivate and promote. The princpal object of the expedition was to investigate, whether it was practicable to navigate to the North Pole, or rather to a latitude very near to it. To this were super-added certain secondary considerations—such as to ascertain the accuracy of time-keepers and pendulums—to make philosophical and astronomical observations—and to determine the practicability of a North-East passage to the East Indies: that *philosopher's-stone* of modern navigators!

The ships sent out on this occasion, were the Race-Horse, commanded by the officer already alluded to; and the Carcass Bomb, Captain Lutwidge. Besides the necessary compliment of officers and seamen, a number of scientific men, or as the French term them,

them, *Savans*, were employed; and they took with them a valuable apparatus for mathematical and astronomical experiments. Two persons, both of whom have since become eminent, embarked, as we have been informed, on this occasion. The first was Lord Nelson, whom we have been given to understand acted as a naval officer, and the second Mr. Windham, who was doubtless incited by curiosity alone.

Unluckily however for the cause of eloquence, if not of science, the future minister at war became so *sea-sick* as to be dangerously indisposed, and the Commodore was actually under the necessity, as we are told, of setting him on shore in Norway, whence he was obliged to find his way back to England in the *odoriferous* cabin of a Greenlandman.

Were we disposed to be jocular, we might exclaim—What have not the audience of St. Stephen's Chapel lost by this discomfited project! How many *practical* tropes and figures have been omitted, that might otherwise have adorned the metaphysical disquisitions of the future secretary and orator. Like Lutterel, he would have "*handled the oar*," and "*spliced the rope*, and "*steered the wheel*," and "*taken an observation*;" or like Burke, he would have harpooned a "loose fish," in the House of Commons; or he would have aimed a deadly blow at the "huge Leviathan" of Bloomsbury-square; or literally pursuing the monsters of the main with the spirit of a Kentucky sailor, "he would have run down the degrees of latitude, undaunted by the rigours of either pole, in search of the Grampus and the Whale, and pursued

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his monstrous game with a zeal unabated by the scorching heats of the equator."

Mr. Windham now aspired to a seat in the legislature of his country; and it must be confessed, that in point of education, talents, and research, he was well qualified for that situation. True to his original opinions, on his entrance into St. Stephen's chapel, he sided in general with those who had voted against the American war; but he adhered to the person, and followed the opinions of Mr. Fox with a marked predilection, and appeared to have formed so inseparable an union with that great orator and statesman, that it was supposed death alone could have dissolved the attachment.

The practical talents of Mr. Windham were not suddenly called forth, nor have they at any one time been employed during a period of great duration. He was deemed qualified, however, to superintend the interests of England in the Sister Kingdom,* and he resided there during one of those *ephemeral* administrations, produced by the sudden ascendancy of one party in England, and as speedily dissolved by the alternate preponderance of another.

* When Mr. Windham was about to visit Ireland, in a department (that of Secretary) which was supposed to have an *ex officio* intimacy with the corruption of the times, he went to the *Colossus of English literature*, and lamented that he should be under the necessity of sanctioning practices of which he could not approve! The memorable reply made by Dr. Johnson, upon this occasion, has been often quoted since Mr. W. has been supposed to have changed his politicks.

Hopes

Hopes however were entertained by his friends, that a more permanent and conspicuous situation might be obtained for him at home; and it was not unfair to augur, amidst the vibrations of public opinion, and the many unexpected changes that have taken place during the latter part of the present reign, that the party which he had so warmly espoused, was likely to attain that superiority to which it was so justly entitled, from the acknowledged capacity of its leaders.

At one period, indeed, a fair prospect of power disclosed itself to the Opposition; and in case their hopes had been realised, there can be no doubt that the subject of the present memoirs would have enjoyed some high and honourable post in the new administration. But the cunning, in conjunction with the talents of Mr. Pitt, fairly outwitted his adversaries, and they were left to lament their credulity,* in having trusted to the professions of a *beardless statesman.*

The mode in which that gentleman came into power has often been considered as *unconstitutional*, and by no one was it condemned with greater bitterness than by Mr. Windham, who seized every opportunity to censure the conduct of the Premier, and render him odious to the nation.

During the unhappy illness with which his Majesty was afflicted, Mr. Windham, as usual, sided with Mr. Fox and his party; and as he always *feels*

* This alludes to Mr. Pitt's promise relative to *a dissolution of parliament.*

warmly, doubtless expressed himself on the subject of the regency, with a fervour that his enemies were tempted to stigmatise with the appellation of intemperance. Here again the minority failed in the attainment of their object, after their leader had been brought from Italy, and the nation had beheld a most extrordinary change in the deportment of the two contending parties; that headed by Mr. Pitt, having boldly, and what would not have occurred had it not suited their interests—having *constitutionally* insisted on an appeal in the new case of a Regency during the *malady* of the reigning Prince to the representatives of the people: while the Opposition, notwithstanding their boasted regard for the rights and liberties of the country, took up the subject on high prerogative notions, and seemed to have changed arguments before they had changed places with their adversaries.

In 1790, when the affair of Nootka Sound, and the armament that soon after ensued, engaged the attention of parliament and the nation, Mr. Windham expressed his opposition and abhorrence to the measures of Mr. Pitt upon that occasion. He talked * loudly of "the insulted honour of the country," "the heavy expences we were put to," the "weight of taxes we were doomed to bear," and the "certain losses we incurred for uncertain profits." He also ridiculed "the humble minions of ministerial will, phalanxed under the haughty banners of ministerial influence,"

* Debate of Monday, Dec. 13th, when an enquiry was moved for by Mr. Grey.

influence," and added satirically, "that it was not necessary for the people to enquire into the motives of administration for their conduct; they were supposed to be defended by the barriers of truth, and the ramparts of honour; their acts dreaded not the light, and their deeds challenged investigation:—then they defy your curiosity, if you call it curiosity—but they shrink from the touch, if you but mention enquiry."

When a temporary misunderstanding with Russia, took place in 1791, the subject of these memoirs once more accused the minister and his friends of conceiving too lofty notions of the prerogative, and of infringing on the rights and privileges of that House. He congratulated Mr. Pitt "on his ability in seeking remote wars: Nootka and Jacotta were at no small distance, and Oczakow was very well known to be not at our doors." "War," added he "is a question of great importance to the lives of thousands; and no man or member of an assembly who decided on it rashly could think himself free from guilt. The general sense of the country is against the war, and the manufacturers in many places are alarmed. Of the city of Norwich I can speak more particularly," adds he, "and I know that they there dread the utter ruin of their trade." While * speaking on the same subject some time after, "he attacked the *consistency* and *confidence* of the Minister; he accused him of having opposed the majorities of that House in an unconstitutional manner, and he

* Monday, Feb. 20, 1792. See Parl. Deb.

replied

replied to the question put by Mr. Pitt of 'Who is his accuser?' that he himself was both *criminal* and *accuser*."

On another † occasion he attacked his late colleagues with a vein of happy ridicule, too keen not to be felt, but, perhaps, too fine not to evaporate in a parliamentary report. After combating the attempts to preclude an enquiry, he is said to have spoken as follows:—

"This administration, which it has been the fashion to paint as a perfect paragon of purity and virtue, will now stand unmasked and exposed in their true and natural colours. The gay and embroidered suit of pretence in which they have decked themselves, and under which they have strutted in magnificent disguise, is torn off, and they behold them in the tattered rags of their genuine deformity. They stand like the uncased Frenchman, which the licentiousness of our stage is too apt to exhibit to ridicule—in ruffles without a shirt—in tinsel and lace on the outside—in dirt or dowlas within. They stand before their confiding majority, convicted of shrinking from trial; and when a man does not dare to stand trial, the world have a right to believe him guilty: and in this condition stands his Majesty's ministers in the eyes of their majority. Let me add, Sir, one word more on this serious subject. We have before us two pregnant instances of the use which is made of these summary and shameful proceedings, which are introduced into practice for the sake of our darling revenue—that revenue for which every thing is to be sacrificed—the citizen to be oppressed and ruined—the constitution to be violated. We see that these summary modes of conviction may be dexterously perverted into instruments of favour or of fear, as it may be the political and corrupt motive of office, for the moment, to gratify or to intimidate."

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* Tuesday, March 13, on the motion "relative to the conduct of Mr. Rose during the Westminster Election."

Whatever

Whatever difference of opinion may be entertained concerning the recent conduct of Mr. Windham, no degree of obliquity can attach to his behaviour on that occasion, and every good man must dwell with pleasure upon it. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that in a debate on the Lottery-bill of 1792, he argued against lotteries in general, the disadvantages attendant on which were so great, that in his opinion they could not be compensated for by any advantage whatever in point of revenue. He remarked very justly, that the money produced could not be called *clear gain*, because in consequence of lotteries many individuals were rendered incapable of paying their taxes. By acquiescing in the plan, "government avowed themselves the bankers—the partners—of all the rogues and vagabonds now described.* They made war upon the morals of the people; and the progress of the unfortunate criminal might be easily traced, step by step, from the *insurance office to the Old Bailey!* The mischief had extended to every class. Were a committee appointed to enquire into the operations of it, they would trace it to the first floor, from that to the second—to the garret—to the pawnbroker's shop—to the Old Bailey—to the gallows—to Bedlam—or to the workhouse!"

Nor ought it to be forgotten, that Mr. Windham ably and eloquently combated the Slave Trade, and attacked all those base and interested motives that would steel the heart of man against the common

* Mr. Mainwaring had just stated the encrease of abuses practised this year.

principles of humanity. He asserted * "that independent of the solid reasoning, the eloquence, and the ability which had been exerted in favour of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the bare statement of facts so enormous and atrocious, as appeared by the evidence ever to have been inseparable from that trade, was sufficient to have convinced the most obdurate supporters of African slavery, that the continuation of so iniquitous and abominable a traffic for a moment longer, was unjust, inhuman, and not to be defended on any principle whatever." He maintained "that the Slave Trade *ought to be abolished*." "When they were told of the justice due to the West India planters, were they to forget the vast debt of justice due to their slaves? When they were offering up so much to the interest of the West India Islands, were they not to recollect the sufferings which they were entailing on the Africans for some years to come, in comparison with the sufferings of those who had been transported long since? What relief was it to future sufferers, that so many before them had suffered? It was like one, who, being reproved for skinning eels alive, said, 'they had been always used to it!'

After much pointed reasoning, he concluded by observing, "that in a comparison between the possible consequences of the abolition, he saw doubtful contingencies, evils, or disadvantages, on one side—certain gross and sdandalous injustice, shame and disgrace on the other."

* Wednesday, April 25, 1792.

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On this great question Mr. Windham was in earnest; indeed, had some others who only *pretended* to support it, evinced the same warmth of conviction, and the same energy of conduct, there can be no doubt but that this odious traffic would long since have been annihilated, and the plighted faith of parliament rescued from dishonour.

A great event—no less than that of the French Revolution—contributed not a little, about this period, to make an entire change in the politicks of the nation. But no body of men experienced a greater shock than the Opposition. They had been lessened indeed, by a few occasional desertions; but the crisis alluded to thinned their ranks, dispelled their consequence, and spread terror and dismay among their adherents.

So early as 1790, Mr. Burke had declared, "that his honourable friend (Mr. Fox) and he were separated in politicks for ever." He even withdrew his name from the "Whig Club;" and after exclaiming, "I quit the camp! I quit the camp!" passed over to the enemy! This gentleman became the precursor of many others, not a few of whom, it is to be hoped, were actuated by honourable motives, and not attracted by the wealth, the splendour, the titles, and the power, which were now within their grasp.

Mr. Windham did not declare himself so early as Mr. Burke; he however evinced a marked hostility to Mr. Grey's efforts for a reform in 1792, and made a solemn declaration, "that whenever, and in what-

ever

ever shape, the motion for a parliamentary reform was brought forward, he must oppose it." He at the same time said, "he would unite with those who were determined to set their faces against every endeavour *to subvert the true principles of the Constitution*;" he however explained, "that he did not mean to make any improper allusion to the motives of his honourable friends."

On the motion for an address on his Majesty's speech, at the commencement of the session of 1792, the subject of these memoirs observed, "that strange as it might appear, he should vote this night with them whose measures he *had uniformly and conscientiously reprobated*, in opposition to those *whose political sentiments on almost every other occasion were in unison with his own.* He then added, "there was a well founded alarm gone abroad, not as has been alledged from the conduct of the officers of government, but from those who were sworn enemies of all government. The whole was a well arranged plan for overturning the British Constitution; and with regard to the combined armies that marched towards the capital of France, he believed their motives were "good," and therefore he wished them success, and so he should "had their motives been ever so bad; that which they opposed *was worse* than any consequence that could have resulted from their success."

It may be now fairly assumed, that Mr. Windham had chosen his side in this grand contest; and it must be allowed that he *spoke out*, and by so doing acted far more honourably than many of his *new* friends.

friends. Accordingly, in June 1793, when Mr. Fox made a motion respecting the war, the purport of which was, to present an humble address to his Majesty, "to restore the blessings of peace," Mr. W. remarked, that he had yet to learn any rule by which a country was to be called upon at the beginning of a war, to state definitively what are the precise objects of that war, or what the precise situation in which it ought to desist from it?" He observed with great nicety of distinction, that there had been a disavowal of any intention on our part, to interfere for the purpose of establishing in France any particular form of government; but he at the same time conceived it to have been the avowed purpose of the contest, to *bring about the establishment of such a government in that country as we might safely treat with*; and we were "to prosecute the war until we could make peace with safety."

It is to be remarked however, with regret, that in proportion as the scene thickened, his enmity against his ancient friends became greater; we accordingly find, that in a debate, or rather a conversation about the *voluntary subscriptions*,* which were considered as unconstitutional by the members of Opposition, he professed to dread "the proferred services of those late coming, and self-called champions, who now come forward in defence of that constitution which they have attempted to deliver over without remorse,

* March 28, 1794. It is to be observed, that on this and all other occasions, the speeches are either extracted or copied from he published debates.

to the savage knife of every audacious reformer." He at the same time added, "that their conduct was at least equivocal, and that their past actions gave no weight to their present professions."

When the session of 1794 was opened by a speech from the throne, an amendment was moved by the Opposition, and a respectable if not a numerous minority, voted against the continuance of the war. It now began to be perceived, that in the contest with France little was to be expected, and that the golden hopes of conquest entertained both by ourselves and allies, must end in disappointment. The *new* Secretary at War, however, saw things in a different point of view. He heard with surprize and grief, the arguments in support of the amendment.

"What was their obvious tendency? Submission, humiliation, degradation, before an inveterate and insolent enemy! The war it is true had been unsuccessful, but it had been so only compared with the wishes, the hopes, and the force of the confederacy.—All that could be said with truth was, that the war hitherto had only been a *negative success*.

"——— A right honourable gentleman in a book which he would advise all who heard him once more to read, had predicted the evils that must necessarily ensue from the doctrines of liberty, equality, and the rights of man. It was his fate not to be believed at the time, and afterwards to be found completely right. Thence came the opinions of those, who, having favoured the French Revolution at its commencement, could not so soon as others detach their affections from a system that led to massacre and ruin. The imaginations of the people at large, as he and those with whom he had *now* the happiness to act, contended, were still amused by a numerous and active party, infected to the bone with French principles, and intent on the subversion of the British constitution. Societies formed by this party, had propagated doctrines the most hostile

hostile to the interests of this country. But it was said the members of these societies had been acquitted by the verdict of a jury; and gentlemen talked of their innocence in a tone of exultation. He wished them joy of the innocence of an *acquitted felon!*

"He maintained that our interference in the internal affairs of France was wise and just. The advantages of war or peace, were not to be estimated by the territory or the trade we might gain or lose. No nation could say, 'Let us be disgraced provided we grow rich.' Peace was not more likely to be obtained for our asking for it. If it were, what would then be the situation of the country? A situation so awful that he durst hardly contemplate it. The intercourse between the two countries must then be opened; the French would pour in their emissaries; and all the English infected with French principles, whom we had now the means of excluding, would return to disseminate their abominable tenets among our people. A jacobinical club would be erected at every one's door, and a convention might even be established in the neighbourhood of that House. In this situation of danger then, shall we send a submissive commission to them? If the aggression of the Spaniards at Nootka Sound, a place scarce marked in our maps, called forth the threatening vengeance of this country; if our own territories are not dismembered, our resources almost untouched, and those of our unprincipled enemy absolutely exhausted; should we give up a war in comparison of which all former wars were as children's play, while all peace must be our ruin? The moment peace was concluded they would go among our poor, among our labourers, among our manufacturers, and teach them the doctrine of liberty and equality. They would point out the gilded palaces of the rich, and tell them that these ought to be plundered and demolished for the benefit of the poor.

"Such a peace would be worse than any probable effect of war. But of the future events of war, we had no reason to despond. Exertions greater than the country could make at any former period, were now so lightly borne, as hardly to be felt. Who could say he had felt them? had the poor felt them except in a few particular and local instances? What member of that house had deprived himself of any of his wonted gratifications?

"The cause for which they were fighting, it had been said,

would animate the French and render them invincible. Where had this invincible courage appeared? In what instance, in what quarter had the courage of our soldiers and seamen been inferior to theirs? Sorry he should be, if we could not do, for the best of all causes, what the French could do in support of every thing the most flagitious. The French emigrants in our service had, in every instance, displayed a valour and perseverance not surely to be exceeded by their infatuated countrymen, against whom they were reduced to the necessity of taking up arms.

"He dwelt on the unimpaired resources of this country, compared with the unnatural and unsound resources of France; whence he inferred, that whatever present appearances might indicate, we must be ultimately successful in what the speech from the throne had so truly denominated the *deliverance of Europe*.

"It was not the character of Englishmen," he added, "to despond; they had met France single-handed in her proudest day; what then can hinder us, unimpaired, and assisted by the greatest part of Europe, to go on with the war against a nation whose capital is with accelerating velocity wasting away, and its debt increasing to a height which it is impossible it can bear? With such a *pandemonium* is it possible for us, for a moment, to think of treating? *They were bleeding to death, we were scarcely scratched.*"

It must be frankly confessed that Mr. W. at this period was very unpopular, and that the hatred evinced to him now led many into extremes. He was not only accused of having deserted a *barren* opposition for the sake of the *productive* emoluments of office, but he was, at the same time, considered by some as utterly devoid of any principle. The manly manner in which he expressed, or at least hinted, his generous sympathy towards the house of Bourbon, and the zeal which both Mr. Burke and himself had evinced to affix a determinate principle to the war by a bold and unequivocal declaration on this subject, was supposed

posed to give umbrage even to his *new* associates in the ministry, who preferred an undefined system of hostility, and lavished both blood and treasure without any fixed object on which the public mind could rest. Nor were the opponents of the Secretary at War content with the openings which he sometimes afforded them amidst the sallies of indignation, or the surmises which they deduced from the warmth of his temper and the violence of his zeal: they went still further, and attached sayings and maxims to his name which he never uttered, and which, had they been suffered to remain uncontradicted, might have blackened his character with the world in general, and hurt him greatly in the opinion of his constituents.

We accordingly find that, in the debate for the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* (a measure to which he was of course friendly), Mr. Windham found it necessary to vindicate his character from a falsehood every where circulated, purporting that he had exclaimed in the House of Commons, "Perish our commerce!" On this Mr. Hardinge rose in his place, and *fathered* the expression. He observed that, in justice both to the right honourable gentleman and himself, he was anxious to declare, "that the sentiment alluded to, relating to the commerce and constitution of the country, had come from him, and not from Mr. Windham; nor was he ashamed now to repeat, that if the unfortunate difficulty ſhould ever arrive when he must sacrifice either the one or the other, he would again say, "*Perish commerce—live the constitution!*"

About this time occurred the equally famous and unfortunate expedition to Quiberon, and while it tended to damp the exertions of ministry, was supposed by some to reflect but little lustre on the discernment of those who planned and countenanced the attempt. It was said that the emigrants had always been kept in the *back ground*, while there was a possibility of their acting with energy and effect; that they were now brought forward merely by way of making what, in the military phrase, is termed a *diversion*, that De Puisaye, who headed them, was utterly unacquainted with military affairs; and, in addition to this, was not to be trusted, having before acted a *double part*, and carried arms *on both sides of the question* during the revolutionary disputes in his native country. Certain it is that the conduct of this chief was equivocal, and that he was preferred to better, abler, and more gallant men, such as the brave and unfortunate Sombreuil; but, on the other hand it was never urged that this preference amounted to any thing more than an error of judgment, and every one acquainted with the subject of these memoirs will readily allow that he must have felt the unhappy fate of the slaughtered nobility with a poignancy inferior to no man in the kingdom.

It so happened, however, that Mr. W. on this occasion once more afforded an *opening* to the asperity of his enemies; for when the house sat in a committee on the *army extraordinaries*,* after explaining that the

* Dec. 2, 1795.

emigrant

emigrant *corps* had been raised during the marches and counter-marches of the armies on the continent, and that therefore regular returns were not to be expected; he unfortunately added, "that the deficiency of men in proportion to the officers arose from this, that being formed during the heat of the campaign no provision was made for filling up those who *were killed off!*"

The same idea might surely have been expressed in a less objectionable manner; but in its present garb it appeared too gross even for those bred up to war and fleshed in manslaughter. General Tarleton seized this opportunity to express his abhorrence of the whole transaction. He also objected to the late expeditions to the coast of France as ill-timed:

"While France was distracted by insurrections in various parts of the republic, and Toulon in the hands of this country, the expedition alone could have been plausible. The troops employed were prisoners of war taken out of confinement, and little affected to the cause. The sacrifice of such men might perhaps by some be thought even meritorious. The officers were men of honour; but the commander, Mr. Puisaye, was a person neither of experience in war, nor of a military character. The event of this expedition was equally calamitous to those engaged in it, and fatal to the reputation of this country; but in justice to the individuals who had thus perished from the reliance on the British nation, he could not mention without respect and compassion the dignified resignation of the Bishop of Dol, and the premature fate of the gallant Sombreuil and his brave companions. But why talk of pity to men callous to every feeling of humanity; to men who, with all the coolness of philosophy, could talk of the emigrants *killed off*; who seemed to delight in blood, and glory in devastation."*

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* It ought to be mentioned to the honour of Mr. Windham,

When the opposition found themselves baffled and frustrated upon all occasions by large majorities, they determined for a while to avert their attacks from the war itself, but to fasten on the means by which the ministry were supposed to be able to carry it on. Mr. Harrison having moved, in the House of Commons, on March 13, 1797, "That the extent of supplies, voted to government since the commencement of the present war, having caused so heavy an increase of taxes, it is the duty of this house to enquire whether some relief to the burthens of the people, or provision for further expence, may not be obtained by the reduction of useless places, sinecure offices, exorbitant fees, and other modes of retrenchment in the expenditure of public monies." Mr. Windham spoke against the motion, which had also been objected to by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Rose, both of whom possessed *sinecures!*

He considered it as "calculated only to attract the notice of certain descriptions of persons out of doors, by raising an idle and empty clamour against sinecure places. Gentlemen ought to recollect where they were; that they were sitting as statesmen in parliament, and not haranguers at a public-house. Let them learn to suit their opinions to their situation, and not cut off all rewards. It had been said that since Mr. Burke's retrenching regulation a great deal of fresh patronage had been growing up. Well, what then? Is it not necessary to enquire whether there be not a better regulation of business by the increase of expence than could be balanced by the diminution?

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that notwithstanding the above *philippic*, this very general was sent soon afterwards to Portugal in a military capacity! It at least serves to prove, that if Mr. Windham be at times *warm* he is not *rancorous*.

"Then

"Then came in its turn before the house the subject of the calamity of this country. He agreed with gentlemen that this country was in a state of calamity, though he differed from them about the cause, and as much about the remedy. The calamity was felt; it was felt by all Europe; it was a calamity which the pernicious doctrines prevalent in France had occasioned all over Europe, and which it became all Europe to repel, but to which the speeches of some gentlemen who favoured this and the like motions too much contributed; the effects of which were, the enormous acquisitions and arrogant pretensions of our enemies, to be conquered by manful exertions, and not by the mean and miserable savings of *the ends of candles*, and *the parings of bits of cheese.**

"If there was any waste in any public department the house should meet it fairly; but they should not practise so mean and shabby a delusion on the public, as to hold up the savings of a few sinecure places as a resource to lessen the public burthens; for he verily believed that the fee-simple of all such savings would not amount to a farthing a head to all the inhabitants of London.

"If ministers had conducted the war improperly let the house say so, and impeach them at once; but this is not the way. By attacking the property of a placeman you attack all species of property. Let men of property be cautious how they act in aiding such opinions, for there is a close connexion between the clamour against public offices and the confiscation of private property."

Few, it is apprehended, are willing to go so far in behalf of sinecure places, and Mr. W.'s best friends will perhaps differ with him on this question. Indeed the opposition papers took care to *ring the changes upon it* as well as upon another expression that occurred soon

* From the report of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, some time after presented to the house, it appeared that one clerk in Mr. Windham's office from these candle ends and cheese parings, had an income of eighteen thousand pounds sterling a year.

 after,

after,* when he asserted, "that the restoration of monarchy was wished for by the enlightened majority of the French nation, whose opinion was smothered by tyranny and oppression, and the debates of whose councils could assume no tone of *freedom* but under the *protection* of Field Marshal Suwarrow."

It has been already observed that the Secretary at War's conduct has been far more candid than any of his late coadjutors, and he continued to evince the same sentiments so long as he remained in office.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that although the cabinet did not act up to the full extent of his sentiments, yet that all their *active operations* experienced his support. The expedition to Quiberon was supposed to have originated with him, and the invasion of Holland could not fail to obtain his unqualified assent. Indeed about that period he *spoke out* more than usual; and when the bill was debating, which enabled his majesty to accept of the services of an additional number of militia,† he asked

"If we could be safe while such a republic as that established in France continued to exist? It had ever been his opinion," he added, "that there was no safety for this country or for Europe with such a power in the midst of it. If France, animated by principles which distinguish her republican government, was suffered to retain the dominions she lately possessed, all the means of defence which we could boast would be imperfect for our safety. He would repeat, and state fairly, that *both the reduction of France, and the total overthrow and destruction of the French government were* HIS *object, and the object of those with whom he acted.*"

* June 7, 1799. † Sept. 26, 1799.

We

We have thus given a pretty regular detail of Mr. W.'s public conduct. On all occasions in which party zeal is not called forth he appears in a very amiable point of view; but neither as a politician nor a patriot hath he of late years (at least according to the *Oppositionists)* added much to his celebrity. Like a certain bishop he has engendered a host of enemies, in consequence of the occasional irritability of his temper, and, like all men in a similar situation, each of them has at times been either mistaken or misrepresented. The right reverend father in God, after a severe rebuke from the head of the house of Bedford, explained away the odious proposition, "that the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them!" The right honourable ex-secretary, who represents a large manufacturing city, which has been *scratched* by the war, was far more successful, however, in refuting the impudent accusation about "perish our commerce!"

They are both equally detestable in the eyes of the "Jacobins," who, by way of punishing their supposed ambition, earnestly wish that the former may never become the apostolic successor of Thomas à Becket, although they would have no manner of objection, perhaps, to his experiencing a similar fate: while in respect to the latter they hope, that after beholding a number of his countrymen "killed off" by the war, and many "acquitted felons" set at liberty by the verdict of a jury, he may remain for ever in the vale of oblivion, and only be permitted to dream of the "cheese-parings" of office!

But irony apart, if Mr. W. has failings like other men,

men, it must at the same time be allowed, that he has virtues peculiar to himself. He possesses great learning, much general knowledge, a happy choice of words, and is capable of giving a luminous classification to his arguments. In addition to this, he is warm in behalf of those whose interest he espouses, and steady and sincere in his private friendships.

He has lived in habits of intimacy with many men of great eminence in the literary world, and his attachment to Mr. Burke, during the latter part of his life, had something filial in it. He also cultivated the regard of Dr. Johnson, consoled him in his disappointments, visited him in his illness, had his own servant constantly in attendance upon him during the malady that terminated his life, and we have been given to understand, it was in the arms of this person that the great Lexicographer of the English language resigned his breath*!

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* As Secretary at War, Mr. Windham is entitled to great praise. He was daily to be met with at a fixed hour, when every military man, or any other individual whatsoever who had business at his office, was sure of obtaining an interview, and of experiencing the utmost attention and politeness.

The clerks in his department (more especially the *inferior* ones) enjoyed repeated marks of his regard, he having twice increased their salaries during his short administration, and thus exempted them from many pecuniary difficulties resulting from the late unexampled rise of provisions.

In consequence of his official arrangements, business was transacted with greater expedition than before, and two hours saved daily: the officers and soldiers of the army have also experienced many benefits that have ensued in consequence of his regulations.

It

SIR BENJAMIN THOMPSON,

COUNT OF RUMFORD, F. R. S. &c. &c.

NORTH America was originally settled by that portion of our sturdy ancestors which would neither submit to the gloomy tyranny of a Laud in matters of religion, nor the more specious despotism of a Strafford in the affairs of government. Equally spurning at the iron sceptre of the bigotted Charles I. and the gilded mace of lead which his son and successor, the profligate Charles II. waved over the heads of an indignant people, they preferred, to the smiling hills and cultivated plains of England, the wild forests and the "howling wilderness" of the new continent.

Their first grand objects were to attain exemption from want on one hand, and from religious persecution on the other: the latter, which was more immediately at their own command, was instantly realized; they accordingly introduced toleration: to obtain the second they became farmers. Wealth, happily for them, was pretty equally divided; none

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It was formerly impossible to receive any intelligence at the Muster Master General's Office, respecting the fate of a poor soldier, without a *fee* being extorted from his wretched relatives: this odious custom was abolished by him.

It has been lately asserted in the French papers, that Mr. Windham countenanced and even employed the assassins who attempted the life of Bonaparte; but however violent his zeal may have been, no Englishman can ever believe him to have been capable of so base, treacherous, and immoral an action.—EDITOR.

of

of them possessed large fortunes, and extreme poverty was then, as now, unknown. Even at this day, after the lapse of several centuries, the general mass of the inhabitants of the northern provinces exhibit great simplicity of manners, and enjoy a happy medium between overgrown wealth and overwhelming misery.

In such a state of society it was not possible that either the sciences, the fine arts, or elegant accomplishments of polished life should be cultivated. This omission has been urged as a reproach against the Americans; but the instances of Trumbull in painting, and Franklin and Rumford in philosophy, prove what a nation of this kind is capable of, when individuals, after having attained a certain degree of affluence, find time and opportunity to dedicate themselves to such pursuits as at once instruct, refine, and adorn mankind.

Sir Benjamin Thompson, commonly called Count Rumford, was born on the Trans-atlantic continent, at that period when it contained the colonies, and formed part of the dominions of Great Britain. The little town of Rumford, perhaps so termed from the circumstance of some of its first inhabitants having come from Rumford in Essex, was the place of his nativity, the scene of his early youth, and the spot from which, in his riper years, he derived his title, and by which he is now designated. His parents were in that happy class of society which we have alluded to above: they were neither too rich nor too poor for the enjoyment of happiness.

Their

Their son Benjamin received the best education that could be afforded by an obscure country village in America, but there is every reason to suppose that he was more indebted to his own industry and talents than to the instructions of a master, for we do not believe that he visited England (perhaps not even Philadelphia) until after that revolution, which, by rendering his country independent, made him in some respects a stranger to it!

The narrator of this has been informed by some of his countrymen, that so precocious were the talents of Mr. Thompson, that he began to instruct others at a period when young men in general are only obtaining instruction for themselves. He also married advantageously early in life, and having always a turn for military affairs, obtained a majority in the militia of his native district. He had begun too to cultivate the sciences with success; but as it is with science as with laws, to the former may be applied what has been said of the latter:

"Silent *Leges* inter ARMA."

We accordingly find, that no sooner had the unhappy contest between the mother country and the colonies assumed that serious complexion which it ever afterwards maintained, than Mr. Thompson retired within our lines, and ever after remained firm in the interests of Great Britain. His local knowledge, his good sense, his various information, and his superior attainments, soon made him known to, and rendered him respected by, the English generals. It was his wish, however, to visit the mother country, which

which he had been taught to consider as the seat of literature and of science; he accordingly repaired thither with the best and most respectable recommendations, and was applied to and consulted relative to the immediate appearance and the probable result of the then bloody and uncertain warfare.

Mr. Thompson was no sooner introduced to Lord George Germaine (afterwards Lord Sackville), who then presided at the head of the American department, and who, with all his faults and demerits, must be allowed to have possessed great discernment, than that nobleman conceived a friendship for him, and ever after exerted himself in promoting his welfare. In his office he enjoyed an honourable post, and at his table he was a frequent and indeed a constant guest.

The war however was now drawing to a close, and the American department was doomed to experience the fate of American dominion, and be annihilated along with it.

Lord George Sackville, however, determined to make some little provision for his friend, and accordingly sent him over to New York before the final close of hostilities, where he raised a regiment of dragoons, obtained the provincial rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and became entitled to half pay, which he still holds. Soon after his return* his Majesty was pleased to confer on him the honour of knighthood, a mark of respect not so common at that period, and which, although it may have fallen into some temporary

* In 1784.

porary disrepute from indiscriminate application, yet then as now has always been considered as a mark of merit when conferred on naval and military officers.

The event alluded to above was the prelude to new favours elsewhere. Sir B. Thompson had been introduced to, and was well acquainted with, the minister of one of the most respectable of the princes of the second order in Germany. This, together with his growing reputation, induced his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, reigning Duke of Bavaria, to invite him into his service, and the most honourable terms were held out to him for that purpose.

Having applied for and obtained his Majesty's permission, he accordingly set out for Munich, and soon introduced the most salutary reforms into the various departments of the electoral government. He arranged the military affairs, so as to form, instead of so many *disjuncta membra*, one complete whole; and he introduced a new system of order, discipline, and economy, among the troops. But this was not all; the Elector's capital swarmed with beggars, to the great disgrace of the police, the discredit of the government, and the unhappiness of the poor miserable wretches themselves. Mendicity had been actually formed into an art, and the many thousands who subsisted by this means from hour to hour and day to day, not content with reducing their trade to a system, seemed to consider this vagrant course of life as a profession, which, like others,

possessed

possessed its own peculiar rights and privileges.* To such a pitch was this notion carried, that either the public magistrates would not or dared not to interfere with them, while the military, from a mistaken principle of delicacy, would have deemed themselves dishonoured for ever by seizing the individuals, and putting a stop to the growing evil.

Sir Benjamin, who had now obtained considerable influence in public affairs, determined to find a remedy for such an intolerable nuisance. He had by this time been decorated by the Sovereign with the *ensignia* of his various orders, obtained a respectable military rank†, and been created Count of Rumford. With so many claims to public notice and attention, added to a great fund of good sense and discernment, it is not at all surprising that Sir B. Thompson should have been able to effect a reform, which might have been attempted by others in vain.

Having taken the necessary previous steps, Count R. accordingly, at a given day and hour, accompanied by several military officers and a body of troops, issued orders for seizing all the beggars at Munich, and being determined to obviate the prossibility of disgrace attaching to so salutary a measure, he began by arresting the first proper object with his *own hand.*

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* The younger Forster, in his Travels through Germany, asserts, that in a *certain capital* the beggars were accustomed to portion off their daughters during their lives, or provide for them after their death, by means of a seat at the door of some particular church, or a stand in a noted street.

† That of Lieutenant General.

No

No sooner had their commander done this, than the officers and soldiers instantly, and without making any scruple or difficulty whatever, cleared the streets with equal promptitude and success, but at the same time with all imaginable good-nature, so that in the course of a single day not a beggar was to be seen in the whole range of the metropolis.

But to sweep away the whole mendicant tribe from the streets of Munich would have been doing nothing effectual, had not houses of industry been opened, work and employment found, and wholesome and plentiful viands provided for them; in short, by the establishment of most excellent practical regulations, the author of this admirable scheme so far overcame prejudice, habit, and attachment, that these heretofore miserable objects began to cherish the idea of independence, to imbibe the notion of obtaining an honest livelihood by the exertion of a competent portion of labour, to prefer industry to idleness, and decency to filth, rags, and the squalidness dependent on beggary.

In order to attain these valuable objects, he introduced new manufactures into the dominions of the Elector Palatine, and entertained hopes of realizing the seemingly romantic but not impracticable scheme of enabling the poor of Bavaria to live comfortably by manufacturing clothing for the poor of Italy*.

* Previously to his return to this country, Count Rumford had also the satisfaction of sending off over the Alps, by the Tyrol, six hundred articles of clothing, of different kinds, for the poor of Vienna.

The wide-wasting war produced by the French revolution, together with some other circumstances, at length intervened, and if these did not wholly put a stop to, they at least cramped the exertions of the subject of these memoirs. Unfortunately for Germany, the Imperial family was but too closely connected, both by marriage and alliance, with the house of Bourbon, then seated on the throne of France. This circumstance alone has deluged the empire with blood, and it was impossible, amidst the incursions and conflicts of hostile and victorious armies, that the dominions of the Elector Palatine should have escaped the miseries of a general warfare.

Among the other advantages reaped by Bavaria in consequence of the Count's residence there, that of the cultivation, and, what may seem still more strange, the *actual use* of potatoes as an edible, will not appear a little extraordinary. It is a fact, no less surprising than true, that this most excellent farinaceous vegetable has been in common use but a few years in North Britain; that in France it has been long known, but formally proscribed in consequence of its affinity to a very suspicious family of plants, that of the *solanum:* the revolution, however, has brought it into favour, and nothing less than such an event, perhaps, could have dispelled the prejudices conceived against it. In Bavaria those prejudices appear to have been stronger and more inveterate, for the people, although struggling with, and environed by, misery, seemed to prefer want itself to a food of this equivocal description: to the credit

credit of the Count of Rumford, however, it ought to be told, that he introduced and familiarized the use of it throughout all the Elector's dominions, and by thus adding to the common stock of provisions, removed the present pressure, and perhaps relieved the inhabitants from the dread of want hereafter.

On his return to England, Count Rumford was received with open arms by his friends, and recognized as a new acquisition to this country by the literary and scientific world. His fame had already preceded him, and he did not long remain inactive. In Germany, as the climate is cold, fuel scarce, and consequently expensive, great part of the miseries of the poor proceeds from a deficiency in this article. It is obvious, that he who either increases the quantity, or diminishes the use of this essential requisite of life, which the French have very properly included among the *articles of the first necessity*, becomes the benefactor of mankind. To create forests, which produce the only fuel commonly used on the continent, immense labour, prodigious wealth, and a lapse of many years, are all absolutely necessary; but to enable families to economize this article, and to make one bundle of fire-wood go as far as four, is far more simple, easy, and practicable, and this has actually been done by the Count. To effect this, he has imitated the example of his illustrious countryman Dr. Franklin, by inquiries into the construction of chimnies, and expedients for increasing the quantity of heat, which is tantamount to decreasing the *quantum* of fire-wood. This great

 improvement,

improvement, after being attempted and executed with success in Bavaria, was also introduced into England. The Count first began here with the mansions of two or three distinguished individuals; he then turned his attention towards the public establishments, and he must now reflect with satisfaction, that there is scarcely a gentleman's house in England which is not better and more comfortably warmed by his new and improved method. Nor has it stopped here, for Scotland and Ireland soon followed the example, and the Count has repaired to the capitals of both these portions of the united empire, with a view of giving effect to his beneficial schemes.

It may be now necessary to consider the subject of these memoirs in another point of view. The Count is a member, and has long been a correspondent, of the Royal Society. So early as 1787, when the scientific world was occupied about the dispute concerning Dr. Priestley's *green filmy matter*, he made a variety of interesting experiments on this subject, and asserted its *animality*, which has since been confirmed*. His paper on this subject has received the praise of the celebrated Dr. Ingen-Housz, although at that period he did not altogether agree in the result†.

He

* See the Philosoph. Trans. vol. lxxvii. part i.

† "Ayant lu dans quelques journaux, qu'un mémoire, presénté depuis peu par M. Thompson à la Société Royale de Londres, &c.; il m'a paru, autant que les expériences décrites dans le mémoire de M. Thompson, au lieu d'invalider mon systême, en

He also published, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for 1799 (part ii. p. 179), "An Inquiry concerning the Weight ascribed to Heat," which was read May 2d of the same year. The experiments to ascertain this question appear to have been made at Munich during the winter of 1787, by means of Florence flasks filled with distilled water and hermetically sealed, and an exquisitely correct balance appertaining to his most Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, Duke of Bavaria.

"The various experiments," says he, "which have hitherto been made with a view to determine the question so long agitated, relative to the weight which has been supposed to be gained or lost by bodies upon their being heated, are of a nature so very delicate, and are liable to so many errors, not only on account of the instruments made use of, but also of those much more difficult to appreciate, arising from the vertical currents of the atmosphere,

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en confirment le fondement. Il y dit que la soie crue, le coton et les filaments d'autres végétaux engendrent dans l'eau de source, après avoir été exposée au soleil pendant quelques jours, une verdure, et qu'alors il en obtenoit de l'air vital; que cette verdure provenoit d'un amas d'animalcules très-manifestement vivans; que l'air obtenu de cette eau, avant que la verdure eût paru, étoit de l'air méphitique; que ce qui rend l'eau capable de fournir de l'air vital y provient aussi spontanément, c'est-à-dire, sans y mettre aucune substance, quoique le production de cet air soit alors plus tardive et copieuse; que l'eau dans laquelle on expose au soleil les feuilles de végétaux, fournit d'abord beaucoup d'air vital, qu'elle perd bientôt entiérement cette faculté pour la réprendre de nouveau au bout de quelques jours, et cela avec plus de force.

"Voila à-peu-près à quoi se réduisent les expériences de M. Thompson, &c. *M. Thompson s'est montré dans toutes ses expériences un observateur très-attentif*; mais, si j'ai bien compris les conséquences qu'il en tire, je ne suis pas tout-à-fait d'accord avec lui sur ce point, &c.—*Ingenhouse sur les Végétaux*, tom. ii. p. 362-3.

 caused

caused by the hot or the cold body which is placed in the balance, that it is not at all surprising that opinions have been so much divided relative to a fact so very difficult to ascertain.

"It is a considerable time since I first began to meditate on this subject, and I have made many experiments with a view to its investigation: and in these experiments I have taken all those precautions to avoid errors, which a knowledge of the various sources of them, and an earnest desire to determine a fact which I conceived to be of importance to be known, could inspire; but, though all my researches tended to convince me more and more, that *a body acquires no additional weight upon being heated*, or rather, that heat has no effect whatever upon the weight of bodies, I have been so sensible of the delicacy of the inquiry, that I was for a long time afraid to form a decided opinion upon the subject."

After detailing the various experiments, which are evidently the effect of much labour and considerable ingenuity, the Count concludes as follows:

"The capacity of water to receive and retain heat, or what has been called its specific quantity of latent heat, has been found to be to that of gold as 1000 to 50, or as 20 to 1; consequently the heat which any given quantity of water loses upon being frozen, —were it to be communicated to an equal weight of gold, at the temperature of freezing, the gold instead of being heated 162 degrees would be heated $140 \times 20 = 2800$ degrees, or, would be raised to *a bright red heat*.

"It appears therefore to be clearly proved by my experiments, that a quantity of heat equal to that which 4214 grains (or about $9\frac{3}{4}$ oz.) of gold would require to heat it from the temperature of freezing water to be *red hot*, has no sensible effect upon a balance capable of indicating so small a variation of weight as that of *one-millionth* part of the body in question; and if the weight of gold is neither augmented nor lessened by *one-millionth* part, upon being heated from the point of *freezing water* to that of a *bright red heat*, I think we may very safely conclude that *all attempts to discover any effect of heat upon the apparent weights of bodies will be fruitless*."

In

In 1792, Count R's "Experiments on Heat" were published in Part I. of the Philosophical Transactions. From these, which were very nice and curious in their nature, he was confirmed in his opinion, "that though the particles of air individually, or each for itself, are capable of receiving and *transporting* heat, yet air in a quiescent state, or as a fluid whose parts are at rest with respect to each other, is not capable of conducting it or giving it a passage; in short, that heat is incapable of *passing through a mass of air*, penetrating from one particle of it to another; and that it is to this circumstance that its non-conducting power is principally to be attributed.

"It is also owing to this circumstance," continues he, "that its non-conducting power, or its apparent warmth, when employed as a covering for confining heat, is so remarkably increased upon being mixed with a small quantity of any very fine, light, solid substance.

"But there is another circumstance which it is necessary to take into the account, and that is, the attraction which subsists between air and the bodies above mentioned, and other like substances, constituting natural and artificial cloathing. For, though the incapacity of air to give a passage to heat in the manner solid bodies and non-elastic fluids permit it to pass through them, may enable us to account for its warmth under certain circumstances, yet the bare admission of this principle does not seem to be sufficient to account for the very extraordinary degrees of warmth which we find in furs and in feathers, and in various other kinds of natural and artificial cloathing; nor even that which we find in snow; for if we suppose the particles of air to be at liberty to *carry off* the heat which these bodies are meant to confine, without any other obstruction or hinderânce than that arising from this *vis inertiæ*, or the force necessary to put them in motion, it seems probable that the succession of fresh particles of cold air, and the

 consequent

consequent loss of heat, would be much more rapid than we find it to be in fact.

"That an attraction, and a very strong one, actually subsists between the particles of air and the fine hair or furs of beasts, the feathers of birds, wool, &c. appears by the obstinacy with which these substances retain the air which adheres to them, even when immersed in water, and put under the receiver of an air-pump, and that this attraction is essential to the warmth of these bodies, I think is very easy to be demonstrated.

"In furs, for instance, the attraction between the particles of air, and the fine hairs in which it is concealed, being greater than the increased elasticity or repulsion of those particles with regard to each other, arising from the heat communicated to them by the animal body, the air in the fur, though heated, is not easily displaced, and this coat of confined air is the real barrier which defends the animal body from the external cold. This air cannot *carry off* the heat of the animal, because it is itself confined, by its attraction to the hair or fur, and it transmits it with great difficulty if it transmits it at all.

"Hence it appears, that those furs which are the finest, longest, and thickest, are likewise the warmest; and how the furs of the beaver, of the otter, and of the other like quadrupeds which live much in water, and the feathers of water-fowls are able to confine the heat of those animals in winter, notwithstanding the extreme coldness and great conducting power of the water in which they swim. The attraction between these substances, and the air which occupies their interstices, is so great, that this air is not dislodged even by the contact of water, but remaining in its place, it defends the body of the animal at the same time from being wet, and from being robbed of its heat by the surrounding cold fluid; and it is possible that the pressure of this fluid upon the covering of air confined in the interstices of the fur, or feathers, may at the same time increase its warmth or non-conducting-power, in such a manner that the animal may not in fact loose more heat when in water than when in air: for we have seen by the foregoing experiments, that under certain circumstances the warmth of a covering is encreased by bringing its component parts nearer together, or by encreasing its density even at the expence of its thickness.

"Bears,

"Bears, wolves, foxes, hares, and other like quadrupeds, inhabitants of cold countries, which do not often take the water, have their fur much thicker upon their backs than their bellies. The heated air occupying the interstices of the hairs of the animal tending naturally to rise upwards, in consequence of its encreased elasticity, would escape with much greater ease from the backs of quadrupeds than from their bellies, had not Providence wisely guarded against this evil by encreasing the obstruction in those parts, which entangle it and confine it to the body of the animal. And this I think amounts almost to a proof of the principles assumed relative to the manner in which heat is carried off by air, and the causes of the non-conducting power of air, or its apparent warmth, when being combined with other bodies, it acts as a covering for confining heat.

"The snows which cover the surface of the earth in winter in high latitudes, are doubtless designed by an all-provident Creator as a garment to defend it against the piercing winds from the polar regions, which prevail during the cold season.

"These winds, notwithstanding the vast tracts of continent over which they blow, retain their sharpness as long as the ground they pass over is covered with snow; and it is not till meeting with the ocean, they acquire from a contact with its waters, the heat which the snows prevent their acquiring from the earth, that the edge of their coldness is taken off, and they gradually die away and are lost.

"The winds are always found to be much colder when the ground is covered with snow than when it is bare, and this extraordinary coldness is vulgarly supposed to be communicated to the air by the snow; but this is an erroneous opinion, for these winds are in general much colder than the snow itself.

"They retain their coldness, because the snow prevents them from being warmed at the expence of the earth; and this is a striking proof of the use of the snows in preserving the heat of the earth, during the winter in cold latitudes."

The Count next proceeds to state, that the great mildness of our climate is entirely owing to our separation from the neighbouring continent by so large a

tract

tract of sea. He considers the ocean as the "great reservoir and equalizer of heat," and remarks that its benign influence in preserving a proper temperature in the atmosphere, operates in all seasons and in all climates.

"The wisdom and goodness of Providence," says he "have often been called in question with regard to the distribution of land and water upon the surface of our globe, the vast extent of the ocean, having been considered as a proof of the little regard that has been paid to man in this distribution. But the more light we acquire relative to the real constitution of things," adds he "and the various uses of the different parts of the visible creation, the less we shall be disposed to indulge ourselves in such frivolous criticisms."

But England as well as Bavaria is greatly indebted in another point of view to the economical improvement, and patriotic exertions of Count Rumford, and as these are intimately connected with his history, we shall notice them here. It is to his hints that we are indebted for the numerous soup societies so prevalent in this kingdom; and which with an unusual spread have extended from Cornwall to John-a-Groat's house,* and multiplied to such a degree in and around the metropolis, as to become eminently beneficial. Establishments of this kind are admirably calculated to relieve the wants of such, as subsisting merely from day to day by their own manual exertions, do not find the price of labour keeping pace with the price of provisions, and feel the pressure of want without experiencing such a *quantum* of calamity, as would

* At Elgin, Inverness, and all the towns in the north of Scotland, soup societies have been instituted.

entitle

entitle them to an asylum in the poor house. Let it also be recollected, that this ought scarcely to be designated by the degrading name of a *charity*; it cannot indeed be strictly termed *eleemosynary*, as the parties participating in it pay a certain proportion of the value received.

In another point of view this scheme must be allowed to possess no small degree of merit in the estimation of our late ministers, as it is partly owing to it that the people in the course of the present war, have experienced more privations and exhibited less discontent than during any other period of our history, equally calamitous and unfortunate. Had Count Rumford effected nothing else but this alone, he would be justly entitled to the thanks, and even to the remuneration of a grateful country.

We shall now take some notice of his last publication, entitled, "Essays, Experimental, Political, Economical, and Philosophical," which as we perceive from the title page, is dedicated "by permission, to his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, Reigning Duke of Bavaria."

In this work among a variety of other useful information, the Count fully developes the plan of reform successfully adopted and followed by him at Munich.*

* The end and aim of the Count may be gathered from the following curious anecdote: "The great mistake which has been committed in most of the attempts to introduce a spirit of industry where habits of idleness have prevailed, has been the too frequent use of coercive measures. Force will not do. It is address which must be used on those occasions. The children in the house of Industry at Munich, who being placed upon elevated seats

He wishes that these institutions should come in aid of the legal provision for the unfortunate, which do not constitute in his mind the criterion of public beneficence; for according to him "the charity of a nation ought not to be estimated by the millions which are paid in poor's rates, but by the pains which are taken to see that the sums raised are properly applied."

"In every scheme for providing for the poor," adds he "persons of the most respectable characters should be engaged to place themselves at the head of it; this will not only prevent an improper, prodigal, or interested application of the funds destined to support the poor, but it will have a good effect upon their minds and morals. Persons who are reduced to indigent circumstances and become objects of public charity, come under the direction of those who are appointed to take care of them, with minds weakened by adversity, and soured by disappointment; and finding themselves separated from the rest of mankind, and cut off from all hope of seeing better days, they naturally grow peevish and discontented, suspicious of those set over them, and of one another; the kindest treatment and most careful attention to every circumstance that can render their situation supportable, are therefore required to prevent their being very unhappy: and nothing surely can contribute more powerfully to soothe the minds of persons in such unfortunate and hopeless circumstances, than to find themselves under the care and protection of persons of gentle manners, humane dispositions, and known probity; such as even *they*, with all their suspicions about them, may venture to love and respect."

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seats round the halls where other children worked, were made to be idle spectators of that amusing scene, cried most bitterly when their request to descend from their seats and mix in that busy crowd was refused; but they would most probably have cried still more had they been taken abruptly from their play and *forced* to work. Men are but children of a larger growth, and those who undertake to direct them ought ever to bear in mind that important truth."

He

He is a decided enemy to "the injudicious distribution of alms," than which, nothing in his opinion contributes more powerfully to encourage idleness and immorality among the poor, and consequently to perpetuate all the evils to society, which arise from the prevalence of poverty and mendicity. According to him, and who will deny the position? the most certain and efficacious relief that can be given to the wretched, is that which would be afforded by forming a general establishment for giving them useful employment, and furnishing them with the necessaries of life at a cheap rate. For this purpose he thinks an *Asylum*, or school of industry on a small scale, ought to be introduced in every parish, under the superintendance of such worthy, able, and respectable gentlemen as might be disposed to volunteer their service.

As the second Essay is entirely dedicated to the consideration of schemes for the employment of the needy, so Essay III. is occupied with dissertations on various kinds of food, and on the cheapest mode of feeding the poor. In respect to the science of *nutrition*, the Count must be allowed to evince an extraordinary degree of practical knowledge, and the following philosophical account of the virtues of *water* will serve to show, that he possesses no common share of ingenuity.

"Since it has been known" says he "that water is not a simple element, but a *compound*, and capable of being decomposed, much light has been thrown upon many operations of nature which were formerly wrapped up in obscurity. In vegetation, for instance, it has been rendered extremely probable, that water

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acts a much more important part than was formerly assigned to it by philosophers. That it serves not merely as a vehicle of nourishment, but constitutes at least one part of the *food* of plants; that it is decomposed by them, and contributes materially to their growth; and that *manures* serve rather to prepare the water for decomposition, than to form of themselves substantially and directly the nourishment of vegetables.

"Now a very clear analogy may be traced between the vegetation and growth of plants, and the digestion and nourishment of animals; and as water is indispensably necessary in both processes, and as in one of them (vegetation) it appears evidently to serve as *food*, why should we not suppose it may serve as food in the other? There is, in my opinion, abundant reason to suspect that this is really the case."

In consequence of a variety of experiments at Munich, the Count discovered that a very small portion of *solid food* will suffice to satisfy hunger, and sustain life and health, and that consequently the stoutest and most laborious man may be supported at a very trifling expence in any country. This discovery constitutes the basis of all his preparations for the poor, which chiefly consist of soups.

"It was found," says he "that the *cheapest*, most *savoury*, and most *nourishing* food that could be provided, was a soup composed of pearl barley, pease, potatoes, cuttings of fine wheaten bread, vinegar, salt and water in certain proportions." On this occasion the Count is not content with giving directions for a strong comfortable soup, sufficient to invigorate the arm of labour, and support the most fatiguing avocations of life, but he also recommends certain improvements in the composition of this diet, such as the adoption of "hard and stale bread," as it renders "mastication necessary," which not only assists

assists in promoting digestion, "but likewise prolongs the duration of the *enjoyment of eating*," a matter of very great importance in institutions of this kind, and which has not hitherto been sufficiently attended to.

A new kind of food hitherto used but little if at all in this country, is powerfully recommended in the essay under consideration, as affording incomparably the most nourishing, cheap, and wholesome diet for feeding the poor. In Italy it is called *polenta*, and the common people live almost entirely upon it; while in America, where it is known under the name of *hommony*, it makes a principal article in the consumption of a healthy, sturdy, industrious, and respectable commonalty. It may be* imported at a very cheap rate into Great Britain from New England and Canada, and there are various ways of preparing and cooking it: ground into meal and mixed with rye, it makes very good household bread, but the most common application of it, both in Italy and America, is to make it into hasty and other puddings.†

* *Indian corn* here alluded to, will grow in this country, but then it is generally found necessary to transplant the young shoots from a hot-bed.—*Editor*.

† Such as are disposed to enter into the details relative to the cookery of puddings, must recur to chap. vi. of Essay III. and we would recommend it to ladies and gentlemen residing in remote country parts, to cause the receipts to be copied and distributed in their neighbourhood, so as to enable the peasantry, if they should be so disposed, to make use of this as a *part* of their usual diet. The following experiment made by the Count, will serve to demonstrate the cheapness of this food. He informs us that he dined very comfortably on a hasty-pudding made of Indian meal, with a sauce composed of butter, melasses, and vinegar, at the trifling

It may be proper, however, to observe, that as this is not an indigenous production, consequently the *beneficial* use of this grain depends on the price of the commodity at foreign markets, the goodness or badness of the seasons at home, the course of the winds, and a thousand other circumstances, that operate in many instances in the shape of an entire prohibition.*

The Count is a munificent contributor to the Royal Society of Great Britain, as well as to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, having presented each of them with a considerable sum to be expended in certain prize questions: of the former of these he is a vice-president, and frequently occupies the chair in the absence of Sir Joseph Banks.

It was also owing to his exertions that the Royal Institute was first established, and ſhould any benefi-

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trifling expence of something less than *one penny farthing*; and although he took his usual exercise, and did not sup after it, he neither felt any particular faintness, nor any unusual degree of appetite for his breakfast next morning.

It is but fair, however, to remark, that the trial in the present instance was not of sufficient duration to enable any one to decide whether this is capable of constituting a permanent diet for labouring men in this country.—*Editor.*

* To exhibit a familiar instance of this it is only necessary to remark, that the writer of the present article being desirous of purchasing some *Indian* corn for a parrot, in the course of last winter, (during the month of February, 1801) he applied in vain for it at the usual places of sale, and at length obtained it with some difficulty at an eminent seed-shop in Piccadilly, at the enormous price of one shilling a head!

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cial advantages arise from it hereafter, he, and he alone ought undoubtedly to have the whole and sole merit. But candour will not allow us to conceal that the effects likely to be derived from a new society of this kind are not such as could have been either wished or expected. In the establishment of her NATIONAL INSTITUTE, France exhibited a gigantic superiority, in respect to human intellect, and by concentrating in one common focus every thing respectable either in the sciences or *belles lettres*, exhibited such a blaze of genius as had never been beheld before in Europe.*

We appear to be successful in *mimicking* the name alone, for to have rivalled the establishment (if it were possible for us to rival it!) it would have been necessary to have called forth the exertions of every man among us conspicuously eminent in mathematics, practical astronomy, oratory, natural and civil history, painting, poetry, music, &c. &c.

To have rewarded these parliament should have provided ample salaries, and to have prevented the whole from dwindling into a *ministerial job*, the members ought to have been elected by ballot.

Instead of this a puny imitation was adopted, and one professor only appointed; true it is, there are few men in the kingdom who could have been selected perhaps with greater propriety, or who possess more various

* As a proof of this the old members of the Academy of Sciences, (esteemed the first in Europe during the monarchy) constitutes only class I. of the National Institute.—*Editor.*

 powers

powers than the gentleman in question;* it is the inefficacy and nullity of the plan only that is here arraigned, without intending to throw the slightest blame on the original projector, who was perhaps cramped in his views and impeded in his exertions.†

Count Rumford is allowed to be a man of profound research, close application, and extensive science. His house at Brompton is well calculated to give an idea of the owner. The uppermost story is converted into a laboratory for chemical experiments; his chimnies are contrived so as to economise fuel, prevent smoke, and produce heat; while his double windows, constructed in imitation of those of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, exclude the frost during the winter, and serve as so many conservatories for such plants as are incapable of being inured to bear the rigours of our climate.

The Count has received many special marks of favour, both from his natural and his adopted sovereign. His Britannic majesty, as has been already ob-

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* Dr. Garnett, a man of considerable eminence in the philosophical and literary world.

† Since writing the above the Editor has learned that many disputes have taken place relative to the management of the Royal Institution, in consequence of which Dr. Garnett has found himself reduced to the necessity of resigning his situation. He also hears with great sorrow that a breach has taken place in the friendship that subsisted between the Count of Rumford and Dr. G.; but, as he is unacquainted with the particulars, he will not presume to censure either of the parties in question.

served,

served, was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on him, and he enjoys the half-pay of a field-officer; while his serene highness the Elector Palatine created him Count of Rumford, obtained for him the order of St. Stanislaus from the late king of Poland, made him a knight of the white eagle, chamberlain, privy counsellor of state, lieutenant-general in his service, as Duke of Bavaria, colonel of his regiment of artillery, and commander in chief of the general staff of his army.

Nor have the academies and literary societies of this and other countries been sparing of their approbation, as he is F.R.S. F. Acad. R. Hib. Berol. Elec. Boicæ, Palat & Amer. Soc.

He has been once married, as already stated; his wife died in America, but a daughter by that lady is still living, and has been much noticed and respected.

REV. THOMAS MAURICE, A.M.

THE human mind is naturally interested in the fate of genius, and takes great pleasure in contemplating its rise and progress. To behold youthful ardour panting towards the goal, and struggling in its course with a multitude of difficulties, excites our curiosity at least, and when the victor has acquired well merited rewards—

"Non sine pulvere palmæ,"

we congratulate not only him but ourselves on the success of his labours.

Mr. Maurice was born in or about the year 1760.

His father, who was a man of considerable attainments, presided for many years over the grammar-school of Hertford, which rose into high reputation under his auspices, and acquired the reward which his labours so amply merited, having realized a handsome fortune. It would appear, however, that he was better adapted for the acquisition than the preservation of wealth, as by relying too much on the prudence of his widow, and not guarding against the contingency of a second marriage, great, and indeed irreparable injury was sustained by his family. His unfortunate death, while his children were in their infancy, not only deprived them of the support and advice of a fond parent, but subjected them to the loss of the bulk of their property, their mother, who was a young woman, having married imprudently, and reduced them to the necessity of scrambling for the scanty remnant of their fortune within the walls of the Court of Chancery. This circumstance bereaved the subject of these memoirs of all hopes of immediate independence; but it cannot be said to have proved altogether unfortunate for the public, as talents are developed by exertion alone, and but few men are stimulated into action by any other motive than the

"Res Angusta Domus."

In short, doubts may arise, whether, in case Mr. Maurice had possessed an affluent fortune, we should have been favoured with his recondite labours in science, or his numerous effusions in poetry.

At an early age the proper dispositions were made for

for his education, and it would appear by the event that this very material requisite had not been neglected.

It was at length his good fortune to be placed under the care of Dr. Parr, that modern colossus of literature, who, to the disgrace of the present age, has beheld a multitude of inferior men elevated to the highest stations in the church, while he himself has not yet attained the rank of one of its dignitaries. The conduct and liberality of this gentleman in respect to young Maurice cannot be sufficiently praised; and we have been assured, from good authority, that it has produced a correspondent degree of gratitude and affection on the mind of his pupil.

After remaining during several years under the tuition of so able an instructor as Dr. Parr, Mr. M. removed to Oxford, and entered himself of University College, under the tuition of Sir William Scott, who now holds the high and respectable situation of Judge of the Court of Admiralty, while his brother, after occupying the chief seat in the Court of Common Pleas, has become the Lord High Chancellor of England. At Oxford he obtained the degree of A. M. discovered and cultivated a taste for poetry, and also formed many honourable connexions, which although not immediately serviceable in respect to his advancement in life, were yet eminently instrumental to his future pursuits at a later period.

Mr. Maurice having lost his patrimony in the manner alluded to above, naturally looked forward

to some profession, by means of which he could acquire an honourable maintenance, and he at length fixed upon the church. It was not however his good fortune to experience any considerable degree of patronage, we therefore find him officiating for several years in the humble capacity of a curate, first at Woodford in Essex, and afterwards at Epping in the same county.

He appears about this period to have once more cultivated his taste for the Muses, having published "The School-boy," a poem in imitation of Phillips's "Splendid Shilling," in 1775. In the course of the ensuing year appeared "Netherby," a local poem, which was followed in 1777 by "Hagley," another descriptive one, and "A Monody, sacred to the Memory of Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland."

While residing at Woodford, in 1779, he preached in the parish church of that place a sermon on the fast-day of that period (February 10), which was afterwards published: by this time he had acquired some eminence as a poet, and in the course of the same year that gave his discourse to the press, his reputation received additional celebrity by "Poems and Miscellaneous Pieces, with a free Translation of the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles," published by subscription in quarto.

In 1786 a new and important epoch occurred in Mr. Maurice's life, in consequence of his marriage with Miss Pearce, daughter of Thomas Pearce, Esq. a commander in the service of the Honourable East India

India Company. This lady only lived four years subsequent to this union, having died at Woodford on the 27th of February 1790; and he bewailed her loss in the following Epitaph, which is allowed to possess very considerable merit.

EPITAPH ON MRS. MAURICE.

Serenely bright, in bridal smiles array'd!
The purple spring its blossom'd sweets display'd;
While raptur'd fancy saw full many a year,
In bliss revolving, urge its gay career.—
But, ah! how deep a gloom the skies o'erspread;
How swift the dear delusive vision fled!
Disease and pain the ling'ring hours consume,
And secret feed on youth's corroded bloom.
Ceas'd are the songs that fill'd the nuptial grove,
The dance of pleasure in the bow'r of love.——
For Hymen's lamp funereal torches glare,
And mournful dirges rend the midnight air!
Oh! thou, whose cheek, the rival of the rose,
With all the flush of vernal beauty glows,
Whose pulses high with youthful vigour bound,
The brightest fair in fashion's mazy round,
Approach with awe the mansions of the dead,
And as the grave's drear bourn thy footstep's tread;
Mark—'midst these ravages of fate and time—
Where WORTH lies buried in its loveliest prime;
Where YOUTH's extinguish'd fires no longer burn,
And BEAUTY slumbers in the mould'ring urn!
Oh! pause—and bending o'er fair STELLA's tomb,
Mourn *her* hard lot, and read *thy* future doom!
Soft lie the sod that shields from wint'ry rains
And blasting winds my STELLA's lov'd remains;
May angels guard the consecrated ground,
And flowers, as lovely, bloom for ever round!
Meek sufferer—who, by nameless woes oppress'd,
The patience of th' expiring Lamb possess'd;

 When,

When, many a tedious moon, thy fever'd veins
Throbb'd with the raging HECTIC's fiery pains,
Nor heav'd a sigh—save that alone which bore
Triumphant virtue to a happier shore—
STELLA, whose streaming eye ne'er ceas'd to flow
When sorrow pour'd the plaint of genuine woe,
Whose mind was pure as that unsullied ray
That beams from heav'n, and lights the orb of day;
Sweet be thy slumbers on this mossy bed,
Till the last trump shall rouse the sleeping dead;
Then, having nought from that dread blast to fear,
Whose echo shall convulse the crumbling sphere,
In fairer beauty wake—a heav'nly bride,
And rise an ANGEL, who a MARTYR died!

In 1782 Mr. M. took advantage of a subject then highly popular, and composed his "Ierne Rediviva," an ode inscribed to the volunteers of Ireland. In two years more * appeared "Westminster Abbey," an elegiac poem.

Soon after our author's Muse assumed a bolder flight, for in 1789 appeared "Panthea, or the Captive Bride, a Tragedy founded on a Story in Xenophon †."

It was about this period, or perhaps anterior to it, that Mr. Maurice conceived the idea of composing a work relative to the revolutions that have taken place in the East. Our dominions in India had now become formidable in point of extent, and either by fraud or by force, by conquest or by treaty, by taking advantage of events, and by siding at first with the

* In 1784.

† To this was added, "An Elegy to the Memory of his Grace Hugh, late Duke of Northumberland."

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preponderating, and afterwards with the feeble states, we had risen, from being a factory of merchants, to such a degree of consequence as to regulate the balance of power, and lord it over Hindostan. How far we may have added to or detracted from the happiness of the natives, is a question that would be unnecessary to discuss here. It is sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that it was a fair subject for an ingenious young man, and finally paved the way to his present celebrity.

The first public step taken by him appeared in 1790, in the shape of a "Letter to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, containing Proposals for printing the History of the Revolutions of the Empire of Indostan, from the earliest Ages to the present: with a Sketch of the Plan on which the Work will be conducted; a concise Account of the Authors who will be principally consulted; and a short Retrospect of the general History."

We were told in this Prospectus, that the work was to contain an introductory dissertation on the religion, laws, literature, &c. of India. The history was to be divided into three parts, the first of which would contain all that was related of the Indian history in ancient classical writers; the second, the series of Indian conquerors from the irruption of the Caliph Valid till the death of Timur; the third was to enumerate the Indian incursions of Timur's descendants until the final expulsion of Sultan Baber by the Usbecs, as well as the history of the second Afghan dynasty of the Kings of Dehli, overturned

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by Sultan Baber in his last irruption into Indostan, with the regular history of the Mogul empire from Baber to the latest accounts.

The style in which this letter was written, as well as the solemn promises of the strictest impartiality, augured well of the future performance; and the author's perseverance, during the three subsequent years, with very little patronage or encouragement, we believe, of any kind, is highly meritorious, and such as would have been imitated by few, for even those who possess a consciousness of talents and capacity to execute any great undertaking, will naturally be discouraged when they find none to favour, to cherish, to patronize, and to assist. The loss of health, and his pecuniary sacrifices, also ought to be taken into the account; and those only acquainted with matters of this kind will be able to estimate the value of the books necessary for such a laborious undertaking, as well as the lapse of time that must ensue before fame has stamped celebrity on, or obtained remuneration for, an author's labours.

In 1793 appeared Mr. M.'s "Indian Antiquities: or Dissertations relative to the ancient geographical Divisions, the pure System of primeval Theology, the grand Code of Civil Laws, the original Form of Government, and the various and profound Literature of Hindostan; compared throughout with the Religion, Laws, Government, and Literature of Persia, Egypt, and Greece: the Whole intended as introductory to the History of Hindostan, upon a comprehensive Scale." 5 vols. 8vo. with plates. In

1794-5, our author was induced, we believe by the advice of his friends, to reprint a small edition of his first two volumes, more regularly arranged, and divided into sections according to the different heads of this extensive subject.

The work in question was written with great labour, perspicuity, and talent; it embraced a multitude of important objects, and the article of theology alone obliged him to take a more wide and extensive range than he had at first prescribed to himself.

"The very curious and interesting subject of the *Oriental Triads of Deity*," says he, "opened so vast a field for inquiry, and withal led to such important consequences in our own system of theology, that it was utterly impossible to contract it within the narrow limits the author had prescribed himself. The *present*," it is added, "is by no means the period for suppressing any additional testimonies to the truth of one of the fundamental articles of that noble system; and he trusts that he has brought together such a body of evidence as will decisively establish the following important facts: First, that in the *Sephiroth*, or *three superior splendors* of the ancient Hebrews, may be discovered the three hypostases of the Christian Trinity; secondly, that this doctrine flourished through nearly all the empires of Asia *a thousand years before Plato was born*; and thirdly, that the grand cavern-pagoda of *Elephanta*, the oldest and most magnificent temple of the world, is neither more nor less *than a superb temple to a Triune God*."

The demise of Sir William Jones about this period threw a gloom over the literary and philosophical world. After obtaining an immense reputation in Europe, he had repaired to Asia, and reaped new laurels by investigating the mythology and antiquities of that distant quarter of the world. Our author

thor was known to him at Oxford, he had honoured him with his friendship at an early period of life, and when he transmitted a letter to him during his residence at Calcutta, stating the nature of the publication alluded to above, he received the most flattering encouragement.

No sooner was intelligence received of the loss of this extraordinary man, than our poet's lyre was strung to his praise, and produced plaintive and melancholy notes suitable to the subject*.

"Favour'd of Heav'n!" her† awful voice exclaim'd,
"Oh! thou, by two admiring worlds deplor'd;
"Who with the love of eastsrn lore inflam'd,
"To its sublimest heights unrivall'd soar'd.

"The brightest palms which Asia yields be thine,
"Securely slumber on her peaceful coast;
"Thy dust shall mix with chiefs of proudest line,
"No nobler dust her gorgeous shrines can boast.

"Thy genius dar'd the secret springs explore
"Whence ancient Wisdom drank the copious stream,
"Diffus'd far hence to many a barbarous shore,
"And regions glowing with the western beam.

"Where the dark cliffs of ruggid Taurus rise,
"From age to age by blasting lightnings torn,
"In glory bursting from th' illumin'd skies,
"Fair SCIENCE pour'd her first auspicious morn.

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* The title of this work is, "An Elegiac Poem, sacred to the Memory and Virtues of the Honourable Sir William Jones, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal; containing an historical Retrospect of the Progress of Science and Foreign Conquest in Asia." 4to.

† The Genius of the East.

"The

" The hoary Persian Seers who watch'd by night,
" The ETERNAL FIRE in Mithra's mystic cave—
" Emblem sublime of that primeval light,
" Which to yon sparkling orbs their lustre gave—

" Exulting saw its gradual splendours break,
" And swept, symphonious, all their warbling lyres,
" 'Mid Scythia's frozen glooms the muses wake,
" While happier India glows with all their fires.

" From that stupendous tower in song renown'd,
" Rear'd in the centre of her vast champaign,
" Assyria, raptur'd, eyed the blue profound,
" And class'd, in dazzling groups, the starry train.

" Phœnicia, spurning Asia's bounding strand,
" By the bright pole-star's steady radiance led,
" Bade to the winds her daring sails expand,
" And fearless plough'd old ocean's stormy bed.

" The race who, when the burning Dog-star rose,
" With thundering pœans shook old Nilus' shore;
" Now view'd a brighter dawn its beams disclose,
" And drank in copious draughts the Indian lore.

" From Egypt roll'd in many a winding stream,
" To Greece the tide of Eastern science flow'd;
" Carthage exulting hail'd its rising beam,
" In Rome its splendours by reflection glow'd.

" To chase the tenfold gloom, my Jones, was thine,
" To cheer the Brahmin, and to burst his chains;
" To search for latent gems the Sanscrit mine,
" And wake the fervor of her ancient strains.

" For, oh! what pen shall paint with half thy fire,
" The power of music on th' impassion'd soul,
" When the great masters waked the Indian lyre,
" And bade the burning song electric roll?

" The

" The mystic veil that wraps the hallow'd shrines
" Of India's deities, 'twas thine to rend;
" With brighter fires each radiant altar shines,
" To nature's awful God those fires ascend.

" Sound the deep conch; dread Veeshnu's power proclaim,
" And heap with fragrant woods the blazing urn;
" I see sublime Devotion's noblest flame,
" 'Midst Superstition's glowing embers burn!

" 'Twas thine with daring wing and eagle eye,
" To pierce antiquity's profoundest gloom;
" To search the dazzling records of the sky,
" And bid the stars the sacred page illume.

" Nor did th' instructive orbs of heaven, alone,
" Absorb thy soul 'mid yon etherial fields;
" To thee the vegetable world was known,
" And all the blooming tribes the garden yields:

" From the tall cedar on the mountain's brow,
" Which the fierce tropic storm in vain assails,
" Down to the humblest shrubs that beauteous blow,
" To scent the air of Asia's fragrant vales.

" But talents—fancy—ardent, bold, sublime—
" Unbounded science—form'd thy meanest fame;
" Beyond the grasp of death, the bound of time,
" On wings of fire, RELIGION wafts thy name.

" And long as stars shall shine, or planets roll,
" To kindred virtue shall that name be dear;
" Still shall thy genius charm th' aspiring soul,
" And distant ages kindle at thy bier."

This poetical tribute to the memory of Sir William, was allowed on all sides to deserve no common share of praise, and it was followed in the course of the same

same year (1795) by the first volume of another work relative to India, viz. "The History of Hindostan; its Arts and its Sciences, as connected with the history of the other great Empires of Asia, during the most ancient periods of the world; with numerous illustrative engravings." In this volume, which, as well as the subsequent ones, was published we believe by subscription, Mr. M. discusses the curious and important topics of Indian Cosmogony; the four *Yugs*, or grand astronomical periods; the longevity of the primitive race, &c.

Besides the works of Mr. M. already mentioned, we have to add "The Crisis of the British Muse to the British Minister and Nation," published in 1798; "Grove Hill, the seat of Dr. Lettsom, a Poem," produced in 1799; and "Poems, Epistolary, Lyric, and Elegiacal, in three parts," 1800.

It was not until 1801, that the seventh and last volume of his "Indian Antiquities," was communicated to the public. In conformity to the original plan, it consists of three dissertations: the first, on the literature, arts, and sciences originally flourishing in India; the second, on the jurisprudence of that country; the third, on the immense treasures contained in the ancient world. Like Sir William Jones, the author contends for the high antiquity of the arts and sciences among the Indians, and insists on the skill displayed by the Asiatics, both in ancient and in modern times:

"In weaving, spinning, and dying," says he "in all the more ingenious devices appertaining to the respective occupations of the joiner, the cutler, the mason, the potter, and the japanner—in executing

cuting

cuting the most curious cabinet and filligree work in general; in drawing birds, flowers, and fruits, from the book of nature with exquisite precision—in painting those beautiful chintzes annually brought into Europe, that glow with such a variety of colours as brilliant as they are lasting; in the fabrication of those ornamental vases of agate and chrystal, inlaid with the richest gems, that constitute so large a portion of the splendid merchandize of India, with the neighbouring empires of Asia—in short, in whatever requires an ingenious head, or a ductile hand, what people on earth in those remote or in these modern times, has ever vied with the Indians?"

On his bidding a "final adieu" to this subject, he expresses a fervent hope that "his humble Essays on the Antiquities of India," as he is pleased to term them, may be the forerunner of some grander effort, more fully and effectually to display them; "since (adds he) my mind is eternally impressed with the conviction, that every additional research into their early annals and history, will ultimately tend to ſtrengthen and support the Mosaic and Christian codes, and consequently the highest and best interests of man."

We have thus taken a review of Mr. Maurice's various publications, and it will appear evident to every one who considers the number, the variety, and the extent of his works, that with much talent he has united much industry, and indeed exhibited a perseverance to be met with but in few men of the present day. We are sorry to remark at the same time that his rewards have not as yet equalled his deserts. All the preferment he has met with in the church of England, and that too not conferred by a churchman, was the chaplaincy of a regiment, in a distant and unhealthy climate,

climate, and yet it must be allowed, that he has reinforced the doctrine of the Trinity with new auxiliaries, and strengthened the prevailing faith in Europe by means of facts and arguments drawn from the remotest periods of the history, and the most distant regions of Hindostan.

No one had a fairer title to the office of historiographer to the East India Company, but that post was created for and bestowed on another. He has however been lately appointed one of the assistant librarians to the British Museum, an office which however honourable it may be in itself, is far from being lucrative. It has also been reported that the pension of 200l. per annum formerly enjoyed by Mr. Cowper the poet, has been recently conferred on Mr. Maurice; we trust that the fact is so, but if it be not, justice obliges us to remark that the literary exertions of few men of the present day give them a better claim to patronage and assistance, either from church or state.

HIS EXCELLENCY

MAJOR-GEN. WILL. GOODDAY STRUTT,

GOVERNOR OF QUEBEC.

MAJOR-General William Goodday Strutt, is the second son of John Strutt, of Tirling-Place, in Essex, Esq. late Member for Malden in that county, a gentleman rendered remarkable for giving his single and solitary dissent, when the House

of Commons voted its thanks to the late Admiral Lord Keppel, in 1778.

General Strutt entered at an early age into the service as an Ensign in the 61st regiment, his commission bearing date in May, 1778. He joined his *corps* in the Island of Minorca, immediately after his appointment, and in November 1779, he was promoted to a Lieutenancy. While in that island he was much noticed by that gallant veteran, General Murray, the Governor and Commander in Chief, in whose family he lived, being nominated an extra *Aid-de-Camp*.

Several new regiments having been raised for the defence of our foreign garrisons and to oppose the common enemy, Lieutenant Strutt's relations procured a company for him in the 91st, in the latter end of the year 1779. On receiving intelligence of his promotion, General Murray sent him to England by the way of Leghorn, with some very important dispatches to his Majesty, and Captain Strutt arrived in London in May, 1780, having performed his journey by land in fourteen days. The 91st regiment being complete in men and officers, it was ordered to the West Indies, and formed part of the garrison of St. Lucia. Captain Strutt embarked in August, 1780, for that island, and soon after joined his *corps*. Malignant fevers having spread to an uncommon degree, attended with great mortality among the troops, particularly the new raised regiments, several of the latter were ordered to be drafted, among which was the 91st, in February

1781,

1781, that corps having in less than twelve months buried more than 800 men. On his return from the West Indies he was sent on the recruiting service; but anxious to be more actively employed, he exchanged into the 97th, in January 1782, and embarked with it at Plymouth for the relief of Minorca. On his arrival at Gibraltar in March following, the 97th was ordered to land, as the brave veteran Murray had been obliged to surrender, on account of his weak, sickly, and starved garrison. In Gibraltar Captain Strutt continued under the command of the gallant Elliot during the remainder of the ever-memorable siege of that important fortress.

Soon after the preliminaries of peace were signed, Captain Strutt returned to England, and in August, 1783, purchased a Majority in the 60th regiment; but shortly after, on a reduction of the 3d and 4th battalions, being one of the junior field-officers, he was put on the half-pay list, although his commission had been signed expressly for the 2d battalion.*

No opportunity offering by which he could get on full-pay, Major Strutt resolved to visit Germany, in order to acquire the language and obtain a proficiency in the military discipline of that country. Being provided with letters of introduction, he accordingly left England, and visited several of the German courts. In that of Berlin he resided a con-

* Since the augmentation of that highly useful corps in 1787, and during the present war, officers are not by commission appointed to any particular battalion, but merely to the 60th regiment.

siderable time, and was present at all the reviews of the Prussian troops under the immortal Frederick, to whom he was introduced by the British Ambassador. The system of tactics he then learned has since been of infinite service to him, and the good effects of which have appeared on several occasions, both on the Continent and in the West Indies, during the present war.

In 1787, hostilities being likely to commence with France on account of the affairs in Holland respecting the Stadtholder, for whose establishment the Duke of Brunswick at the head of a Prussian army marched to Amsterdam, Major Strutt was induced to return to England and offer his services. He was soon after nominated Major of the 29th regiment, then on its passage from Quebec; but his Majesty ever anxious to reward old officers, was pleased to appoint the senior Captain to the vacancy. A few weeks after Major Strutt, on the third and fourth battalions of the 60th being raised, was put on the full pay of the former, and in October the following year he embarked for the West Indies. After a passage of thirty-two days he arrived at Barbadoes, and was afterwards ordered to Antigua, with directions to send four companies to Dominica, and two to Montserratt.

In August 1790, he succeeded to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the third battalion, by purchase from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Arthur, an old and deserving officer, whose infirmities had prevented him from joining the regiment. This promotion was highly pleasing

pleasing to the *corps*, as Colonel Strutt, both by his conduct as an officer and gentleman, had formerly rendered himself much beloved by the men; and the spirit of discipline introduced by him, rendered the battalion deserving the thanks it received from that excellent officer and worthy man, General Edward Matthew, at that time Commander in Chief in the Leeward Islands. The attention shewn to the interior œconomy of the battalion, in which he was assisted by Mr. Dickson Reide, the surgeon, contributed to lessen the sickness and mortality experienced by other *corps*.* In the course of this year Colonel Strutt was himself seized with a violent fever, attended with dangerous symptoms, which brought him nearly to the grave; but owing to the unremitting attention of the medical gentleman abovementioned, he was restored to health, to the great joy of the regiment. Some months after this he sailed for England, some family affairs requiring his presence there.

In April 1792, by his Majesty's express commands he was removed to the 54th regiment, which he joined in Dover Castle; and in January the following year he accompanied it to Guernsey.

It being determined to strike an important blow against the French West India Islands, a considerable land force to be commanded by General Sir

* See a View of the Diseases of the Army in Great Britain, America, and the West Indies, published in 1793, by Thomas Dickson Reide, Surgeon of the 1st battalion of the 1st, or Royal Regiment of Infantry. Part II. chapter 1.

Charles Grey, was ordered to that part of the world, escorted by a fleet under Admiral Sir John Jarvis, (now Earl St. Vincent). Among the *corps* appointed to this service, in August, 1793, was the 54th; but a diversion being intended against the French republicans on their own territory, under Lieutenant-General the Earl of Moira, a name dear to the British army, it was ordered to join him.

The military operations on the Continent, at the beginning of the campaign of 1794, not being attended with the wished-for success, as the allied army from various circumstances was reduced to 80,000, while that of the enemy amounted to 300,000 men, it was deemed expedient to quit the Netherlands.* In order to keep the communication with England open, by way of Ostend, Lieutenant-General Lord Moira was ordered to that place to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. On the 26th of June, his Lordship accordingly arrived there with the 19th, 27th, 28th, 40th, 42d, 54th, 57th, 87th, and 89th regiments, in all about 7000 men. Judging on his landing, that his little army by forming a junction with the allies might be of more advantage to the common cause, than by merely keeping possession of the town; he therefore on the evening of the 28th quitted the place without cannon, tents, or even a change of linen,† and began a march in the face of

* See Jones's Journal of the British Campaign on the Continent 1794, and Retreat through Holland in 1795. Book 1st, page 77.

† It was not till the 5th of August that the troops received their camp equipage, before which they slept in the open air.

a formidable

a formidable enemy, and during very bad weather. Had the plan his Lordship propofed to Generals Clairfait and Walmoden been adopted, of joining their forces, and acting upon the left wing of the republican army, the defeats experienced by the Prince de Cobourg and Count Clairfait, in all probability, would not have occurred. In the address from his Lordship to the regiments under his command, on his quitting them to return to England, he says, "this measure would have covered Ostend, at the same time that the consequence of it, as to lightening the pressure on the Duke of York, could not but be very important." Owing to a number of circumstances often unavoidable in war, it unluckily did not take place; and his Royal Highness being anxious that Lord Moira should effect a junction with him, he accomplished that important event in so masterly a manner, as at one and the same time to excite the grateful thanks of the Duke, and the admiration of the enemy, who could not after repeated attempts on his line of march, make the least impression on it. On the 9th of July he joined the Commander in Chief at Malines, and in all this fatiguing but gallant service, Colonel Strutt was peculiarly active.

On the 20th of July, Lord Moira with his staff returned to England, as his Lordship, from superior local rank as Lieutenant-General on the Continent, could not act with officers who had not that distinction, but were senior to him in the army. The regret shewn on this occasion, not only by his own

little army, but that of His Royal Highness, was highly flattering to this worthy nobleman.

In the never-to-be-forgotten retreat through Flanders and Holland, Colonel Strutt was appointed to the command of a brigade which he held while the British army remained on the Continent, in consequence of the appointment of the Duke of York, who, on the 6th of December, set off for England, to the great regret of his gallant army. At this time the British occupied an extensive cordon along the Waal, from Bommel on the right, where the Dutch were cantoned, to Panneren on the left, where the Austrians were posted.

The French, during the greatest part of the month of December, endeavoured by every exertion to cross the Waal, which they at last accomplished on the 27th, near Tuyl. An attack was made upon their posts on the 30th, when the French were driven across the Waal with great loss on their side, but very little on ours. Colonel Strutt was then ordered to occupy Tuyl; when the post of Tuyl was retaken by the republicans on the 4th of January, 1795, who taking advantage of the intense frost, crossed the river at Bommel on the ice. The same day they made an attack on Tiel, but were repulsed and obliged to retire. On the 6th they made another attempt, and again were beat back. The following day Colonel Strutt received orders to evacuate the town, which he did without loss, and re-joined the main body of the army at Rhenen. Here Colonel Strutt's brigade was united with the British guards.

The

The position of the allied army being a disadvantageous one, it was determined to retreat into Westphalia; on which occasion Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromie appointed Colonel Strutt's brigade as the rear-guard of the British line, an highly important and honourable station. On the 27th of January, Sir Ralph with the guards and Colonel Strutt's brigade, were left on the banks of the Yssel to endeavour to effect the removal of the stores and provisions to Bentheim. The ammunition at Deventer was got off, but the stores in general were destroyed. Two days after Sir Ralph commenced his march, and on the 31st arrived at Oldenzaal. On the 9th of February, Colonel Strutt was separated from the guards, and went with the 54th to occupy the out-post of Northorn, with the command of the advanced posts of Ninehuy and Velthuyser. Two days after he was re-inforced by the light troops under Count Sombreuil. The enemy on the 24th, five times in number to what Colonel Strutt had under his orders, attacked and drove in the advanced posts, with the loss of one-third of the regiment of loyal emigrants, who behaved in the most gallant manner. Colonel Strutt would not have fallen back on Northorn on this occasion, if an entire foreign regiment had not left him, in spite of every effort of his to keep it. Two days after the enemy abandoned the two posts, which Colonel Strutt re-occupied.

In the beginning of March, the British troops changed their position frequently, first to Meppen, then to Osnaburgh, and afterwards to Diephalt. Soon

after

after they marched to Bremen and Bremerlee; and on the 14th of April the infantry embarked for England. The uncommon hardships our brave countrymen experienced in this retreat are too well known to be detailed in this place.

Colonel Strutt did not remain long inactive after his return to England, for in July following he was sent to the West Indies with the 54th, and landed at St. Vincent's. On the 21st of August he got the brevet rank of Colonel in the army, and in September following he was made a Brigadier-General in the West Indies.

While in the Island of St. Vincent's, he was enabled from his great military skill to annoy the enemy who then occupied a considerable part of it, and the credit he and his gallant regiment acquired will never be forgotten, particularly during the action in which he was severely wounded. On the 8th of January, 1796, near Colonorie river, he engaged above 1200 of the most determined villains, (who had long been guilty of the most atrocious acts of cruelty and murder,) with a force consisting of 13 officers, and 167 non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates, of which nine officers, and 135 non-commissioned officers and privates were either killed or wounded. On this occasion Brigadier-General Strutt was himself wounded three times; first in the mouth, which brought him to the ground for an instant, at four o'clock in the morning. An hour after he received a buck-shot in the breast in charging the enemy, which still remains in his body; and about

about six o'clock a musquet-ball struck him about an inch above the right knee, and buried itself in the bone. Before an amputation could take place, he was carried above twenty miles, and an interval of seventeen hours took place from the time he was wounded. Mr. Perry, surgeon to the 54th, performed the operation in a masterly manner, and on examining the bone he found it shattered in eleven pieces. Under all the disadvantages attending operations of this kind in hot climates, this brave man survived, and is the only officer remaining who had a limb amputated in that part of the world.

In May, 1796, he returned to England, and met with a most gracious reception from his Sovereign; and in July, the Deputy Governorship of Stirling Castle, in North Britain, having become vacant, his Majesty was pleased to confer it on Brigadier-General Strutt.

The following year, his health being greatly recovered, and thinking himself capable of being employed once more as an officer, he again offered his services, and was appointed, in May, a Brigadier-General on the Staff in Ireland. He soon after set out for that kingdom, and was for some time at Limerick, and afterwards at Tarbert on the Shannon; but finding his health suffer much from the loss of his limb, he was under the necessity of requesting leave to resign as a Brigadier-General, which he did in the beginning of 1798.

On the 18th of June that year, on a promotion of

general

general officers, he was raised to the rank of a Major-General.

A martyr to the gout and ill-health, the effects of wounds and active service, he now tried Bath, Buxton, &c. but with little benefit; he therefore formed the resolution of quitting a profession he was much attached to, thinking such a step more honourable than remaining in a station he was unable to fill with that vigour of mind and body he had been accustomed to.

The Governorship of Quebec becoming vacant by the death of General Staates Long Morris, his Majesty was again pleased to reward General Strutt's services, by appointing him to that honourable office in April last. Nor did his Sovereign stop here, for in August following he permitted him to sell his Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the 54th, and retain his rank in the army as a general officer.

MR. DAWSON, OF SEDBERGH.

THE subject of this memoir affords a proof that no difficulties of situation can prevent minds of a very superior cast from piercing the veil of obscurity, and arriving at eminence, though others less strong require the fostering culture of education, which, if neglected, they will vegetate unknowing and unknown. Mr. John Dawson was born in Garsdale, a valley in the northern part of the west riding of Yorkshire, adjoining to Westmoreland, almost sequestered from

from the world, and the inhabitants of which still retain their primitive simplicity, untainted by the luxuries or vices of those parts of the kingdom which are called more polished. Garsdale is a narrow glen or valley, inclosed by steep and rugged mountains: the soil in the valley admits of some degree of cultivation, and is divided into freeholds among the inhabitants; most of them are, however, so small, that with the most rigid economy they would not support a family, did not their occupiers possess numerous flocks of sheep, which range the neighbouring mountains. On this account all the inhabitants are shepherds, and this patriarchal life was intended by his parents to be the lot of young Dawson, while his brother, who was the elder son, had been sent to a neighbouring school, and was intended for the excise, a humble occupation, but which in Garsdale was held by the shepherds as requiring extraordinary learning and abilities. The brother, therefore, like Goldsmith's school-master, was regarded by them as no common man.

> "Lands he could measure, terms and tides presage,
> And e'en the story ran that he could gauge."

Some books of geometry which belonged to the brother attracted the attention of young Dawson, and those leisure hours which a pastoral life generally affords were employed in reading them. This was the first stimulus to his mind, the spark that set fire to the train of mathematical genius, and kindled that love of science, by the indulgence of which he has risen to such celebrity. The writers on geometry and

algebra

algebra which he could meet with he read with avidity, and soon made himself master of them; and it may be mentioned as an instance of the energy of his mind, that he had, at a very early age, invented a system of conic sections before he had seen any work on that subject, which on revising it, after he had availed himself of the treatises of others, astonished him by its accuracy.

His relations perceiving his ardent attachment to mathematics were induced to permit him to leave his native valley; but as it was necessary for him to look forward to some profession which would afford a subsistence, he chose the medical, as connected with those philosophical pursuits after which his soul thirsted. He was accordingly placed under the care of an eminent surgeon at Lancaster, and while he diligently applied himself to the study of his profession, he pursued with eagerness almost unequalled the mathematics and natural philosophy. On leaving Lancaster he repaired to London, where he attended medical and anatomical lectures, and the practice of the hospitals; and on his return to the north settled at Sedberg, a small town, about five miles distant from the place of his nativity, where he practised for a number of years with great success, being idolized by the inhabitants of a large district, on account of his amiable manners, professional skill, and friendly attention.

In his leisure hours, however, he still cultivated mathematical and philosophical studies, and was urged by some of his friends to give instructions to their sons previously to their going to Cambridge. In a few

years

years his name became so celebrated, that almost all the students in that vicinage who were desirous of distinguishing themselves as proficients in the mathematics, at their admission to the first degree resorted to Sedberg during the long summer vacation; and the number of these became so great, that about ten years ago he gave up his profession, and has since attended solely to this occupation. A few years since a number of his old pupils sent him from Cambridge a handsome service of plate, as a testimony of esteem for his worth and abilities. Never was man more beloved by his scholars; the mildness of his temper, and the affability of his disposition endear him to all, and it is a strained panegyric indeed that would surpass his desert.

Among the earliest of his pupils was Dr. Haygarth, now resident at Bath, who is a native of the same valley, and a relation; Dr. Willan, of Bloomsbury-square; Dr. Ainslie, of Dover-street; Dr. Garnett, professor of natural philosophy and chemistry in the Royal Institution; and Dr. Birkbeck, who succeeded Dr. Garnett as professor of physics and philosophy in Anderson's Institution at Glasgow. Besides these and other gentlemen eminent in the medical profession, several ornaments of the pulpit and the bar might be reckoned among his disciples, for there are very few that have come out of Cambridge with the highest honours who have not been his pupils.

His mode of teaching is very laborious; he sits in the midst of the youths committed to his charge, and when any of them is at a loss he takes a chair by

the side of his preceptor, who soon solves the difficulty; his place is supplied by another: and thus during the whole summer his attention is kept constantly employed, probably on as many different branches of mathematics and philosophy as there are pupils.

Mr. Dawson is now between sixty and seventy years of age: soon after he settled at Sedberg he married a lady somewhat younger than himself, whose kindness and attention has soothed his life, and whose amiable disposition and simplicity of manners eminently qualify her for the domestic partner of such a man. By her he has one daughter. Tempting offers have been made to induce him to leave his native country, but his attachment to the *solum natale*, and independent spirit, which with his plain and simple life, make him content with a moderate income, have rivetted him to Sedberg.

Though few have dived further into the depths of mathematics than Mr. Dawson, or are more eminently skilled in those branches of philosophy which depend upon mathematical learning, yet all has been acquired with so much ease to himself, and by such a happy application of his time, that he never appeared to be absorbed in deep meditation, or sequestered himself from society, from the common enjoyments of life, or from the ordinary duties of a laborious profession. Nay, the writer of this sketch has seen him read, with voracity indeed, but without any apparent effort of mind, books of the profoundest mathematics by his own fire-side amidst the noise of conversation;

tion; and has frequently observed his countenance brighten, and his hand strike on the arm of his chair, in token of the pleasure he received from the elegance of the author's demonstrations, or the depth of his researches.

He never experiences those abstractions of mind which too often characterise persons accustomed to intense application or abstruse subjects, and whose *presence* is particularly distinguished by their *absence*. He, on the contrary, is always ready to join in general conversation upon indifferent subjects; can enjoy "the feast of reason and the flow of soul," and does not only enjoy the feast, but liberally contributes to the entertainment. His vacant hours he often amuses with the works of our English classic authors. The poets he peruses with pleasure, and tastes their beauties with feeling and precision.

Few are better versed than Mr. D. in ethics and metaphysics, have more minutely watched the workings and different operations of the human mind, or more successfully explained the springs and principles of moral action. Yet standing as he does, upon such elevated ground, in point of intellectual endowments, no man bears his faculties more meekly, or pays more attentive deference to the opinions of others. He exhibits a true philosophical simplicity of manners, is a stranger to ambition, and wishes rather to be respectable in retirement than applauded by the world. In all the relative duties of life he is exact and exemplary, is possessed of an universal benevolence, and sus-

 ceptible

ceptible of the temperate warmth of delicate friendship. The gentlemen who have been under his tuition retain for him that high degree of respect which the disciples of Socrates felt for their excellent master, and are happy to sink the name of tutor in that of friend.

But to finish the character, we can pronounce this philosopher a christian: a christian from conviction; a christian who with powers of mind to weigh the evidences of christianity, and resolution to set about the interesting task, has found the arguments on which it is supported amply sufficient to produce conviction in a candid and unprejudiced mind. Happy is it for the world, and honourable to the cause of religion, that men of the soundest understanding and most penetrating genius; a Newton, a Locke, a Horrox, a Coates, a Napier, a Maclaurin, a Boyle, and a Dawson; men who could discriminate between strict demonstration and *moral* proof, and who well knew the value of every species of evidence, have added their suffrages to the truth of the gospel. Let, then, the little Sciolists of the day, let the disputers of the world follow such bright examples; let them examine before they decide, and be candid in their decision. Was this the case with philosophers in general, philosophy would lend her aid to religion, and religion give a new grace to philosophy; men's piety would be equal to their knowledge; science would become physico-theology; the mysteries of nature would reconcile us to those of revelation; the due

exercise

exercise of reason would beat down superstition; and every good man might devoutly say, *sit mea anima cum philosophis.*

Though Mr. Dawson has made various discoveries in mathematics, his modesty has prevented his giving them to the public, except in a few instances, and in these he has carefully concealed his name. The late celebrated Dr. Matthew Stewart, in the year 1761, published in his Tracts some propositions, the object of which was to determine the distance of the sun from his effect in disturbing the motions of the moon. The theory of the composition and resolution of forces enables us to determine what part of the solar force is employed in disturbing the motions of the moon; and therefore could we measure the instantaneous effect of that force, or the number of feet by which it accelerates or retards the moon's motion in a second, we should be able to determine how many feet the whole force of the sun would make a body at the distance of the moon, or of the earth, descend in a second, and consequently how much the earth is, at every instant, turned out of its rectilinial course. Thus the curvature of the earth's orbit, or, which is the same thing, the radius of that orbit, that is, the distance of the sun from the earth, would be determined.

The transit of Venus happened in the same year that Dr. Stewart published his Propositions; and astronomers who had gone to different parts of the world to observe this phenomenon, with a view to determine the distance of the sun, communicated to

the world the results of their observations, but no satisfactory result could be drawn from a comparison of them. Dr. Stewart resolved therefore to apply the principles which he had already laid down, and in 1763 he published his essay on the sun's distance, where the computation being actually made, the parallax of the sun was found to be no more than 6''.9, and his distance consequently near 29,875 semidiameters of the earth, or about 118,541,428 miles.

A determination of the sun's distance, as is observed by Professor Playfair*, that so far exceeded all former estimations of it, was received with surprise, and the reasoning on which it was founded was likely to be subjected to a severe examination. But, even among astronomers, it was not every one who could judge in a matter of such difficult discussion, as none but an able mathematician could pretend to understand, much less detect, any errors in Dr. Stewart's theory or calculations. About five years afterwards, Mr. Dawson published a pamphlet under the title of "Four Propositions," intended to point out certain errors in Dr. Stewart's investigation, which he apprehended had given a result much greater than the truth. It is well known to mathematicians, that there are problems so extremely difficult, that in the solution of them we can only approximate to the truth; and that, as in arithmetic, we neglect those small fractions, which, though of inconsiderable amount, would exceedingly embarrass

* Trans. of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

our

our computations; so, in geometry, it is sometimes necessary to reject those small quantities which would add little to the accuracy, and much to the difficulty, of the investigation. In both cases, however, the same thing may happen; though each quantity thrown out may be inconsiderable in itself, yet the amount of them all together, and their effect on the last result, may be greater than is apprehended. This was just what happened in the present case. The problem was in its nature so complex, and involved the estimation of so many causes, that, to avoid inextricable difficulties, it is necessary to reject some quantities as being small in comparison of the rest, and to reason as if they had no existence. Dr. Stewart had besides an additional motive for wishing to simplify his investigation. This was, his resolution to employ the geometrical method only, which, however beautiful, satisfactory, and excellent in other respects, is certainly inferior to algebra in conducting very complicated reasonings. The skill of this profound and experienced geometer could not remedy that defect; and he was reduced to the necessity of rejecting quantities which were considerable enough to affect the last result in no small degree. An error was thereby introduced, which, had it not been for certain compensations, would have become immediately obvious, by giving the sun's distance near three times as great as that we have already mentioned.

The penetrating mind of Dawson observed the dangerous nature of these simplifications, and in

the work to which we allude estimated the error to which they had given rise. This ingenious pamphlet shews the powers of its author as a deep mathematician and acute reasoner in a very advantageous point of view, and the reason why it is so little known to the public is, that, soon after the time of its publication, the greatest part of the impression was burnt by a fire, which consumed the warehouse in which it was lodged, and the diffidence of the author prevented him from intruding on the public, as he modestly termed it, another edition. We are happy however to inform our readers, that this scarce tract has been lately reprinted by Mr. T. Leybourn, in his Mathematical and Philosophical Repository, Nos. X. and XI.

Mr. Dawson has likewise given a proof of his abilities in a controversy in which he was engaged with the Rev. Mr. Wildbore, a very celebrated mathematician, concerning the evacuation of vessels in motion: this work may be seen in Dr. Hutton's Miscellanea Mathematica. In this contest Mr. Dawson, with his usual modesty, signed his letters *Wadson*, transposing the D. and W. of his name; and had the honour of completely foiling his great antagonist. He was also engaged in a dispute with Mr. Emerson on the subject of fluxions, in which he likewise appears to have the advantage. In the fourth volume of the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester he has given an ingenious paper on the inverse method of central forces; and in the fifth

volume

volume of the same work, a scholium and proposition, by way of *Addenda* to that paper.

Besides these essays on speculative and mixed mathematics, Mr. Dawson entered the lists, and took up the metaphysical gauntlet against Dr. Priestley. In the year 1781 he published a pamphlet entitled "The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity briefly invalidated," the substance of which was drawn up in a private correspondence on the first appearance of Dr. Priestley's "Illustrations," &c.

In examining the doctrine of necessity, Mr. Dawson first premises three axioms, observing that in all sciences some principles must be taken for granted, else nothing can be proved. The axioms are as follow:

Axiom 1st. If we make a false supposition, and reason justly from it, a contradiction or absurdity will be contained in the conclusion.

Axiom 2d. It must likewise be taken for granted (as it does not admit of proof), that every action, or exertion, voluntarily made, is with a design, or in hopes of obtaining some end. For, it is evident, that where there is *a full conviction* of the impossibility of this, no rational being will make any attempt or exertion at all.

Axiom 3d. All practical principles must either be *founded in truth*, or *believed to be so* for the moment that they operate.

These axioms being taken for granted, our author supposes the doctrine of necessity to be *true*, and that its truth is discovered to us in such a manner,

and is so strongly impressed upon our minds, as to become a practical principle; then upon this supposition, by the second axiom, motives of all kinds must cease to operate.

To illustrate this, he takes an event, in which we are all equally concerned, viz. the time and circumstances of our death. Supposing, therefore, that at or before our entrance into this world the time of our leaving it was *fixed*, and that we absolutely believed it to be so, no circumstance throughout life, no possible situation in which we could be placed, would operate as a motive, so as to make us use even the slightest endeavour either to lengthen out or shorten the period of our existence. This must be allowed upon the supposition under consideration; and if this be the case with regard to so momentous an event, it will certainly hold true of any other.

Hence, he observes, this conclusion may be fairly drawn, viz. that where the doctrine of necessity is firmly believed, and made use of as a practical principle, *motives cease to operate*. But, upon the certain and infallible *operation* of motives the whole scheme of necessity is founded. This doctrine, therefore, taken in this light, is destructive of itself.

In the next place he supposes the doctrine of necessity to be true, but that it does not (as we find is really the case) operate as a practical principle, and then proceeds to examine the consequence.

A practical principle, he observes, for the *instant* that it operates, must be seen or felt to be speculatively true, else it could not answer the end intended.

tended. For, a full conviction of its being false, at the very time it ought to influence our conduct, would certainly destroy its effect. This he thinks cannot be denied. Examples in real life might be found in abundance to illustrate this supposition. We daily see errors in opinion (or of prejudice) made the foundation of our practice, which, when our minds are better informed, cease to operate, and give place to the opposite truths; or, in other words, the moment that the error of any practical principle is discovered, and in such a manner as to present itself to us upon every occasion, it will cease to operate, and the opposite truth will instantly take place, and influence our conduct accordingly. He supposes, likewise, that in a future state our faculties will be enlarged, our understandings enlightened, and our apprehensions quickened in such a degree, that the truths which we now attain to with difficulty and much study, will then appear as axioms, or be classed among the first principles of our knowledge, and hence serve as a basis for making further discoveries by reason. If therefore, as was before supposed, philosophical necessity be a *truth*, and likewise discoverable by human reason, in some future period of our existence, liberty, as opposed to this *truth*, must cease to operate as a practical principle, and give place to ideas of necessity, which, like all intuitive truths, will ever be present to the mind, and, consequently, as has been proved before, reduce us to a state entirely torpid.

Here then is discovered a barrier or limit, to which human

human nature in its progress in *knowledge* can never arrive; and which the subtile metaphysician, by standing on tiptoe, has already got a sight of. Must we then, Mr. D. observes, in a future state, be under the disagreeable necessity of petitioning the Deity to darken our understandings, and blunt our penetration, in order that we may enjoy the greater happiness? *Common sense* revolts from such an idea!

The sketch of this pamphlet which we have here given, will serve as a specimen of the forcible reasoning with which Mr. D assails his celebrated antagonist. Our limits do not allow us to enter into all the arguments which are brought forward with equal skill and mathematical precision; and we believe that whoever reads the pamphlet in question, should they fail to be convinced by the reasoning it contains, will be ready to express their admiration of the strong sense and abilities of its author.

Mr. Dawson is an honorary member of the Royal Medical and Physical Societies of Edinburgh, and of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, from which and some other learned bodies he received diplomas without any solicitations on his part, or indeed without any previous knowledge of the intention.

THE REV. THOMAS RENNELL, D. D.

PREBENDARY OF WINCHESTER, MASTER OF THE TEMPLE, &c.

MANY of the most dignified characters among the established clergy are bright examples of unwearied diligence; and in the midst of those honours and enjoyments for which they are not unfrequently envied and calumniated, they labour with a constancy equal to that which may be supposed to distinguish men who have preferments to seek.

Among these luminaries we may with the greatest propriety rank the subject of the present brief, but faithful sketch.

The Rev. Dr. Rennell is the son of the late Rev. Dr. Thomas Rennell, A.M. prebendary of Winchester, and rector of Teignton-Drew, or Druid's Teignton, in Devonshire, of which parish his father was also rector, and where our divine was born. The family of Rennell is of considerable antiquity and of great respectability in that county, as may be seen in Prince's curious book, entitled "The Worthies of Devon," where some account of one of Dr. Rennell's ancestors is to be found.

Dr. Rennell, the father of our preacher, was the intimate friend of the late Bishop Hoadley, who gave him the prebendal stall in his cathedral, and appointed him his chaplain. He was a very judicious divine, and a man of extensive learning, but of such singular modesty

modesty as even to conceal, at least as much as he could, the appearance of his great attainments.

Dr. Rennell, the subject of the present sketch, was educated on the foundation at Eton school, where he distinguished himself by an unremitted attention to his studies, and by the meekness of his temper. From Eton he was elected off to King's College, where he was noted as a profound scholar, particularly in Greek, and also remarkable for being so devoted to study as to acquire the name of the "absent man."

In his college he gained a fellowship in due course, and not long after his entering into orders his father obtained leave to resign to him the prebend of Winchester, while his talents as a preacher soon rendered him highly popular both there and at Cambridge.

His next preferment was the rectory of Saint Magnus, London Bridge; and in 1798 he was, on the advancement of Dr. Pearce to the deanery of Ely, promoted to the more honourable than lucrative situation of Master of the Temple.

Here the Doctor preaches always, as is customary, in term time, and upon festivals. His discourses are so plain, yet so pathetic, so sound in doctrine, and so perspicuous in the composition, filled with such a devout spirit, and so admirably calculated to affect the heart while they inform the judgment, that it is not to be wondered the Temple church should be crowded when he preaches: add to this, the Doctor is a powerful and impassioned orator. He feels what he utters, and therefore his eloquence is natural while it is

warm

warm and vehement. In the management of his subject he possesses the most happy art, and that is not so easy an one as is generally imagined, of making it completely clear to the conception of his hearers. There is no abstract reasoning in his discourses, but one important topic is fixed upon, and kept in view throughout. Whatever is said to illustrate it, or whatever reflection or exhortation may be made, still the hearer knows the grand theme, and loses not a preceding proof in attending to a new observation.

But it is in his *perorations* that the Doctor seems to shine the most. Here he seizes upon the avenues of the heart at once, here he engages its principles, its fears, and its hopes on his side, and forces even the sceptic and the libertine to shudder at the consequences of impenitence, and to desire the "death of the righteous."

This is not an over-charged picture; but a very faint and imperfect outline of a christian preacher sketched by the feeble hand of one who equally admires, but who enjoys not any degree of intimacy with him.

> "I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
> Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life
> Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
> That he is honest in the sacred cause." COWPER.

Dr. Rennell has published, at several times, sermons upon particular occasions, all of which, together with a few others, have very lately been reprinted in one volume octavo. It often happens that the discourses of a celebrated orator do not give the entertainment

tainment when read which was afforded at their delivery. A good voice, managed with judgment, and an action elegant and impressive, will frequently set off a very superficial composition, and impose upon the auditors the appearance of graces which in reality it does not possess. This it is which so much distinguishes the generality of popular preachers, especially those who are very improperly termed *evangelical ministers*. They take great pains to rouse the attention of their hearers, and by a display of uncommon earnestness, and a most peremptory tone, they succeed in leading the passions, and thereby deceiving the understanding. Let their loose and rhapsodical effusions be committed to the press, and the charm is instantly dissolved: the discerning mind wonders at its credulity, and perhaps conceives from that moment an indifferent opinion of pulpit eloquence. This will not be the consequence of hearing or of reading any of Dr. Rennell's discourses. The pleasure excited by attending to the delivery of them will be continued, and even heightened by the perusal. It may be asserted with safety that in argument, and doctrine, and pathos, better sermons, on all accounts, are not to be found in the English language, or indeed in any other, than those of this truly excellent divine.

Dr. Rennell might well look forward to the highest dignities in the establishment; but if our information be right, and we have no reason to question it, this is what he by no means either expects or courts. There is a primitive simplicity in this excellent man which much

much resembles that of the first prelates of the christian church, who were with great difficulty prevailed upon to undertake the episcopal office.

He may be ranked with what are called the platonic divines; and were we to compare him to any modern, it would be to the pious and very ingenious John Norris, of Benerton. Like that valuable man he places religion in the heart, and conceives that unless it is rooted there as a general principle no good practice is to be expected. Like him also Dr. Rennell is remarkable for great abstractedness of mind. This amiable weakness, shall we call it? for that is the harshest epithet it deserves, often reduces him to many strange blunders; and indeed one of his most intimate friends fixed the appellation upon him of an "*etourdi.*"

Some curious stories are told among his intimates of the Doctor's mistakes; but though the anecdotes might amuse we do not choose to detail them.

In this respect he is but equal to many other great men; for where there is much intenseness of thought, let the speculation be what it may, there must of course be a correspondent absence of mind in respect to other subjects, especially the ordinary concerns of life.

W.

CALEB WHITEFOORD, ESQ.

THIS gentleman, born at Edinburgh in the year 1734, is the only son of Colonel Charles Whitefoord, third son of Sir Adam Whitefoord, Bart. in the shire of Ayr, in North Britain.

At

At a very early age young W. was placed under the tuition of Mr. Mundel, then a distinguished teacher in the capital of Scotland, at whose seminary he soon eclipsed all his school-fellows, by his rapid progress in the Latin tongue, and other branches of education, which he completed at the university of Edinburgh, the *alma mater* of so many eminent literary characters. This uncommon proficiency in classical knowledge induced his father to breed him up for the church; but to the clerical profession he entertained such strong objections that the Colonel was obliged to relinquish his intentions, and to send him to London, where he was placed in the counting-house of his friend, Mr. Archibald Stewart, an eminent wine-merchant in York-buildings, where Caleb remained about four years, and then went over to France, and staid there near two years more, until he became of age.

Whilst he remained in Mr. Stewart's counting-house, his father had died at Gallway in Ireland, Colonel of the fifth regiment of foot, bequeathing the principal part of his fortune to him and his daughter, Mrs. Smith. With this patrimony, on the expiration of his minority, he commenced business in Craven-street in the Strand, in partnership with Mr. Thomas Brown, a gentleman universally esteemed for his amiable qualities and convivial disposition, under the name of Brown and Whitefoord, a firm that still maintains its original respectability.

Mr. W. early in life evinced a lively wit, combined with a certain peculiarity of humour, which rendered his

his company and conversation desirable to the most celebrated *beaux esprits* of his time. Nor was it only in conversation that his talents were conspicuous. His essays were equally admired for novelty of idea, correctness of style, and sprightliness of satire; and to those we are in some measure indebted for the emancipation of our diurnal prints from that dullness which till then universally pervaded them.

Mr. Whitefoord having conceived a great friendship for Mr. Henry Woodfall, sent his productions to the PUBLIC ADVERTISER, which soon became the political *arena* where all the combatants engaged, and all the squibs of party were thrown. He turned and moulded the various topics of the day into all sorts of shapes:—horse-races, play-bills, auctions, exhibitions, and female administrations, became the whimsical vehicles of his humour.

The mirth excited by these, as well as by his "Cross-readings," "Ship-news Extraordinary," "Errors of the Press," &c. occasioned many imitations; but they have seldom equalled, and never excelled the original.

The author was extremely careless of literary reputation. He amused himself in the moments of conception and composition; but afterwards paid no manner of attention to those children of his brain: He left them exposed and deserted *sur le pavé*, till Almon and Debrett took them up, and gave them an ASYLUM in the *Foundling Hospital for Wit*, where at least a score may be found.

The shafts of his ridicule were so happily directed against the petitions, remonstrances, and grievances of WILKES, and other *pseudo* patriots of the day, as to attract the notice, and to obtain the approbation of Administration.

Mr. W. had given a humorous history of PETITIONS, from the first petition of the peruke-makers to the King, praying him to wear a wig for the benefit of *their* trade; he then took up the subject of more modern GRIEVANCES and APPREHENSIONS, answered all these Grievances, and advertised for a *new Grievance!* His success on this occasion was so great, that he was requested by a person high in office to write a pamphlet on the subject of the Misunderstanding which subsisted betwixt this country and Spain, relative to the Falkland Islands. That task however he declined, but recommended Doctor Samuel Johnson as the ablest and properest person who could be selected for this purpose. Mr. W. was accordingly authorised to negociate this matter with the Doctor, which he at length happily concluded in concert with the late Mr. Strahan, the King's printer, one of Johnson's most intimate and most useful friends.

The Doctor soon after produced his celebrated publication, entitled "The False Alarm;" by which he gained both money and reputation. At this period he had conceived a high opinion of Mr. Whitefoord's taste and political influence, and often expressed his approbation of his Essays and Squibs,

pronouncing

pronouncing them superior even to those of Dean Swift.*

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* Dr. Smollet has also evinced a favourable opinion of them in a letter to Mr. W. which we shall extract from Dr. Moore's Life of that celebrated writer.

"My Dear Sir,

"You could not have made me a more agreeable present than the papers I received by the hands of our good friend Dr. Armstrong. Some of the pieces I had read with great pleasure in one of your evening papers; but my own satisfaction is much increased by knowing *you* are the author; for, without flattery, I really think these fourteen letters contain more sense, spirit, wit, and humour, than all I have as yet seen written on the other side of the question; and I am fully persuaded, that if you had two or three coadjutors of equal talents to play to one another's hands, and keep up the ball of argument and ridicule, you would actually at the long-run either shame or laugh the people out of their absurd infatuation. Your ideas of characters and things so exactly tally with mine, that I cannot help flattering myself so far, as to imagine I should have expressed my sentiments in the same manner, on the same subjects, had I been disposed to make them public; supposing still that my ability corresponded with my ambition.

"I hope you will not discontinue your endeavours to represent Faction and false Patriotism in their true colours, though I believe the ministry little deserve that any man of genius should draw his pen in their defence. They seem to inherit the absurd stoicism of Lord Bute, who set himself up as a pillory to be pelted by all the blackguards of England, upon the supposition that they would grow tired and leave off. I don't find that your ministers take any pains even to vindicate their moral characters from the foulest imputation. A late nobleman, who had been a member of several administrations, owned to me, that one good writer was of more importance to the government than twenty placemen in the House of Commons.

"I do not know when I shall have an opportunity of trans-

But Mr. W.'s pen was not limited to prose compositions—his verses on various subjects, and on different occasions, possess equal spirit and point. From a considerable number we select and subjoin an Epigram, said to be written by him in consequence of the City of London having nearly about the same time presented its freedom to Admirals Keppel and Rodney: to the former in a box made of *heart of oak*, and to the other in a *gold* box; this contains as much in four lines as any we recollect, excepting that of the Earl of Rochester on Charles the Second. Nor are we offended with its *puns*, a species of wit in which he shines unrivalled, and which, however improper

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mitting the papers to Mr. Udny, neither do I know in what part of Italy he resides. I should have sent them by Dr. Armstrong to Rome, had I read your letter before he set out: but as he stayed at Leghorn only to dine with me, I did not open your packet till he was gone. However, I shall not fail to comply with your directions as soon as possible. I am at present rusticated on the side of a mountain that overlooks the sea in the neighbourhood of Leghorn; a most romantic and salutary situation, where I should be happy in receiving another such mark of your charity and good will; and if there is any thing in Tuscany that you desire, I beg you will without ceremony put it in my power to oblige you. Do, pray, throw away half an hour in giving me the political anecdotes of the times, and direct *à Monsieur Monsieur Smollett, chez Monsieur Renner, negotiant à Livourne*. In the mean-time, wishing you every comfort and consolation that this rascally age affords, I am, with great affection and esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

T. SMOLLETT.

Monte Novo, May 18, 1770.

proper in serious works, are calculated we think to add poignancy to compositions of this kind.

> Each Admiral's *defective* part,
> Satiric Cits, you've told;
> That cautious * KEPPEL wanted *heart*,
> And gallant RODNEY *gold*.

It has been asserted that the fine arts have such an affinity to each other, that to have a relish for one is to be susceptible of all. Whether this be generally true or not, we shall not here dispute, but content ourselves with observing that this combination is remarkably exemplified in Mr. W. who in his youth was at once a respectable proficient both in music and drawing: but other avocations did not permit him to cultivate these to the extent which his genius was capable of attaining.

Although prevented from reaching practical excellence, he did not fail however to improve in taste; and his judgment as a CONNOISEUR has frequently been appealed to in doubtful cases, when even artists have been divided in their opinions.

His collection of prints and pictures, chiefly of the Italian school, do honour to the possessor, both from their number and merit; but his admiration has not, like that of some *Virtuosi*, been confined to the an-

* "Cautious Keppel," alludes to his reason given for not pursuing the French fleet, viz.—"An enemy's coast, and a lee-shore;" though the lee-shore was upwards of thirty leagues distant. A very admirable comment on this text has since been made by Admiral Duncan, at Camperdown, on the coast of Holland!

cient masters, for many living artists have experienced the benefit of his patronage and advice.

Such acquirements naturally pointed him out to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, as a proper person to preside in the committee of fine arts. He was accordingly elected chairman, and executed the office for several years with equal advantage to the institution, and credit to himself, until he was chosen a Vice-president, an honour generally conferred on persons of elevated rank alone. Nor was this the only distinction he has obtained. The Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries, the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and the Arcadian Society of Rome, have all admitted him a member of their respective bodies.

Few men have passed their time more agreeably than Mr. W., for he has lived in habits of intimacy with some of the wisest and best men of the age. In the list of his friends may be enumerated many dignitaries in the church, more than one statesman, and some of the most eminent geniuses which our nation has produced: such as the great Lord Mansfield, Lord Marchmont, the Duke of Leeds, Lord Sandwich, Lord St. Helen's, the Earl of Kellie, the Bishops of Salisbury and Killaloe, David Hume, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Armstrong, Dr. Smollet, Dr. Goldsmith, Edward Gibbon, Adam Smith, Sir Joshua Reynolds, John Horne, James Macpherson, Laurence Sterne, Garrick, Colman, and Foote, Owen Cambridge, Arthur

Arthur Murphy, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and Richard Oswald.

Mr. W. lived many years in familiar intercourse with David Garrick, who gave him the freedom of his theatre, and always shewed him the kindest attention. Garrick was fond of having his portrait painted, and employed all the eminent artists:—but the most successful and characteristic one was that drawn by the pencil of Nathaniel Dance in the character of Richard the Third. From this an excellent print was engraved and sent to some of his particular friends, with the following verses written on the back;

The mimic form on t'other side,
That you accepted is my pride;
Resembles one so prompt to change,
Through every mortal whim to range;
You'd swear the lute so like the case,
The mind as various as the face.
Yet to his friends, be this his fame!
His heart's eternally the same.

One of these being transmitted to Mr. Whitefoord he returned the following answer; entitled,

VERSES TO MR. GARRICK,

On receiving his Portrait, *painted by Mr.* Dance.

Garrick! whate'er resembles *thee*
Must ever claim regard from *me*;
Well pleas'd I view thy counter part,
And highly praise the painter's art.
Arduous the task is, great the merit,
To represent that fire and spirit,
Those piercing eyes, that speaking face,
That form, compos'd of ease and grace:—

All this I feel;—could feelings do,
Then I should be a painter too;—
I should draw GARRICK, and perchance
Produce a work, t' outrival DANCE.
 But Garrick, sure thou need'st not send
A gift of this sort to thy friend,
As if that friend requir'd to see
Something to *make* him think of thee.
 Whoe'er has seen thy wond'rous pow'rs,
Whoe'er has shar'd thy social hours,
Can *he*, can such a one forget
Thy native humour, sterling wit?
No, Garrick—he must surely find,
Deeply imprinted on his mind,
In such warm tints thy form and face,
No time or distance *can* efface.

C. W.

Mr. W. was glad of every opportunity of paying a handsome compliment to his friend David, and the following circumstance furnished him with a favourable occasion. A young artist of the name of Sherriff had come from Edinburgh to obtain employment as a miniature painter. There were several circumstances which contributed to interest Mr. W. in his favour. He was a very ingenious, sensible, worthy young man, and by the labours of his pencil supported an aged father who had failed in trade.

Young Sherriff was deaf and dumb from his birth, but had been taught to read and write, and was particularly fond of SHAKESPEARE's Plays. Whenever any of them was acted, he was sure to be in the pit especially if Garrick performed, whom he admired the most, because he understood him the best. This young man was extremely desirous of being introduced

duced to Garrick, and applied to Mr. W. for that purpose. In order to raise the curiosity of that celebrated performer, Mr. W. wrote these verses in the name of the artist, expressing his feelings on seeing him in some of Shakespeare's principal characters:

"When Britain's Roscius on the stage appears,
Who charms all eyes, and I am told all ears;
With ease the various passions I can trace,
Clearly reflected from his wond'rous face:
Whilst true conception with just action join'd,
Strongly impress each image on my mind.
What need of sound? when plainly I descry
Th' expressive features, and the speaking eye,
That eye whose bright and penetrating ray,
Does Shakespeare's meaning to my soul convey.
Best commentator on great Shakespeare's text,
When Garrick *acts* no passage seems perplext!"

Garrick had been flattered by poets of all sorts, but to make the *deaf* and *dumb* speak his praise was something *new*; and therefore he was very much struck with it, and extremely desirous of seeing the young artist, whom Mr. W. accordingly introduced to him, and the scene that ensued was said to be a most curious one indeed.

Adam Smith used to say that the junto of wits and authors hated one another heartily, but that they all had a regard for Mr. W. who by his conciliatory manners kept them together. When any quarrel or disagreement occurred, he was accustomed to invite the parties to call on him in Craven-street, gave them a very good dinner, and made them drink a "glass to reconciliation." Garrick and Foote had long been

at

at variance, but Mr. W. contrived to bring them to one of those conciliatory dinners; and Mr. Garrick (who had much good-nature, and more generosity than the world gave him credit for,) actually lent Foote five hundred pounds to repair his theatre in the Haymarket.

Mr. W's intimacy with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Oswald, rendered him peculiarly eligible for the purpose of assisting in treating for the restoration of peace with America. He was accordingly appointed Secretary to the latter, who having bailed Mr. Laurence from his confinement in the Tower, and become his surety to the amount of fifty thousand pounds, was also judiciously selected as a man acceptable to the American Commissioners, with whom on the 30th of November 1782, they concluded and signed preliminary articles, declaratory of the independency of the United States. This being understood by the Belligerent Powers, as an indispensable basis previously to their treating with England on the subject of a general pacification.

Lord Chatham in a memorable speech in the House of Peers had exclaimed, "Where is the Minister who dares propose giving away the inheritance of the Prince of Wales?" And Lord Shelburne in pathetic terms foreboded "the setting of the Sun of Britain's glory, when America should become independent." That event and its consequences have not however verified their predictions.

Pending the negociation, Mr. Burke in his usual strain of eloquence endeavoured to depreciate the

characters

characters and talents of the plenipotentiaries; representing one a simple merchant, incapable of comprehending the interests of Empires; and the other as a mere *diseur des bons mots*. On the discussion of the articles in the House of Commons, they were also facetiously ridiculed by Lord North, who, in allusion to the proem of the treaty, alleged that "the reciprocity of advantages was all on the side of the Americans." Mr. Fox was still more severe in his censure of the conditions, although but a short time before he had strenuously recommended "PEACE," PEACE on *any* terms. The articles of the preliminary treaty were however approved by the people; and the nation hailed the return of tranquillity with general gratulation. All differences being thus happily settled with the United States of America, Mr. Oswald returned to London, but Mr. W. remained at Paris several months longer with Lord St. Helen's, (then Mr. Fitzherbert) who was the Minister charged to negociate treaties of peace with France, Spain, and Holland; and it is a curious circumstance, that three of the treaties above alluded to, are in the hand-writing of Mr. Whitefoord.

These services were such as entitled him to some recompence from government; but Lord Shelburne having resigned before Mr. W's return from the continent, without making any provision for him, he was obliged to prefer his claim to the coalition administration, by which it was rejected; nor was it till seven years after that a small pension was granted to him by his Majesty, on the recommendation of the present Ministry. We cannot pass over this transaction,

action, without observing that calumny which on that occasion had been busy with other characters, never even insinuated a charge of malversation against the persons employed at Paris, in the great work of restoring tranquillity to Europe and America.

Mr. W.'s admission into several learned societies has already been recorded, but we have purposely till now avoided noticing his being a member of several distinguished clubs, particularly that at the British Coffee-house, of which he was one of the founders, and long continued to be secretary; of the Literary Fund; and also of the famous literary club, which met at the Thatched-house tavern, the scene of convivial mirth and classical wit. At one of those meetings it was proposed by Dr. Goldsmith that the members should write ludicrous epitaphs on each other.* The plan was approved and executed. Among others were two by Mr. W. on Drs. Goldsmith and Cumberland, which were read in their presence. The two doctors thought proper to be very angry, for which reason Mr W. did not attend at the next meeting, but sent the following apology, addressed to Sir Joshua Reynolds:

"Admire not, dear Knight!
That I keep out of sight,
Consider what perils await him,
Who with ill-season'd jokes
Indiscreetly provokes
The *genus irratabile vatum*.

---

* On Dr. Goldsmith's making this proposal Garrick immediately said, "Goldy, I have written *your's* already.

"Here lies Nolly Goldsmith, for shortness call'd Noll,
Who *wrote* like an angel, and *talk'd* like poor Poll!"

"I felt

"I felt when these swains
Rehears'd their *sweet* strains,
That mine had too much lemon juice;
And strove to conceal,
For the general weal,
What at last I was forc'd to produce.

"After such panegyric
The least thing satiric
Must throw both the bards in the twitters;
'Twas impossible they,
After drinking TOKAY,
Could relish a bumper of *bitters*.

"Do talk to each bard,
Beg they won't be too hard,
But be merciful as they are stout;
I rely on your skill,
Say just what you will,
And as YOU brought me *in*, bring me *out*.

"To the company too
Some apology's due,
I know you can do it with ease;
Be it your's, Sir, to place
In the best LIGHT my case,
And give it what COLOUR you please.

"For those brats of my brain,
Which have caus'd so much pain,
Henceforth I renounce and disown 'em;
And still keep in sight,
When I EPITAPHS WRITE,
De mortuis nil nisi bonum."

It is perhaps proper to mention that Mr. W. expressed his regret at having written in an unguarded moment the epitaphs on Doctors Cumberland and Goldsmith;

Goldsmith; and that he took particular care to destroy them, that they might never appear in print.

Goldsmith's resentment against those who had satirized him soon subsided, and he contented himself by retorting, in his well known poem of RETALIATION, in which he has pourtrayed Mr. W. as follows:

"Here Whitefoord reclines, and deny it who can,
Tho' he merrily liv'd, he is now "a grave man."
Rare compound of oddity, frolic, and fun,
Who relish'd a joke, and rejoic'd in a pun;
Whose temper was generous, open, sincere,
A stranger to flatt'ry, a stranger to fear,
Who scatter'd around wit and humour at will,
Whose daily *bon mots* half a column might fill;
A Scotchman, from pride and from prejudice free,
A scholar, but surely no pedant was he.

"What a pity, alas! that so lib'ral a mind
Shou'd so long be to newspaper essays confin'd;
Who perhaps to the summit of science could soar,
Yet content if the table he "set in a roar;"
Whose talents to fill any station were fit,
Yet happy if Woodfall confess'd him a wit.

"Ye newspaper witlings! ye pert scribbling folks,
Who copied his squibs and re-echoed his jokes;
Ye tame imitators! ye servile herd come,
Still follow your master, and visit his tomb;
To deck it bring with you festoons of the vine,
And copious libations bestow on his shrine;
Then strew all around it, you can do no less,
Cross-readings, ship news, and mistakes of the press.

"Merry Whitefoord, farewel! for thy sake I admit
That a Scot may have humour, I'd almost said wit;
This debt to thy mem'ry I cannot refuse,
Thou best humour'd man with the worst humour'd muse."

To

To so finished a portrait by so able a master it would be impertinent to make any addition.

Mr. W.'s early acquaintance with the French language rendered the colloquial part perfectly familiar to him; but it was by the study of the *belles lettres* that he was enabled to write it accurately both in prose and verse. The difficulty of the latter is well known. The accompanying specimen was handed about at the time of Lord Malmesbury's second mission to France, and was admired equally for its correctness and liberality.

"EPIGRAMME SUR LA GUERRE.

"Sur terre les Françaises sont partout indomptables,
Le fier Anglais tient le sceptre des mers;
Que ne s'accordent-ils? ces rivaux implacables,
Pour se partager l'univers!"*

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* During Mr. W.'s residence at Paris in the years 1782 and 1783, he was introduced to all the celebrated *literati*. But the man whom he admired the most was the Count de Buffon; and he brought over some curious pieces both in prose and verse relative to him. One of these we shall present to our readers, premising that Monsieur Montbeillard, an intimate friend of the Count, gave him an entertainment at his *chateau*, in honour of his birth-day; and wrote the following verses, which were spoken by a beautiful *Paysanne*, on presenting a bouquet of *natural* flowers:

"CONFIDANT de la NATURE,
Reconnois en nous ses enfans.
Nous avons pour tous talens
Un cœur naïf, un ame pure;
L'innocence est notre richesse:
Ces fleurs sont les fleurs des champs,
Leur douce odeur est notre encens,
Et nous l'offrons à la sagesse!"

Mr.

Still continuing to possess a good constitution and an uncommon flow of spirits, Mr. W. not long since led Miss Sidney to the altar, thus making the *amende honorable* for many witty sarcasms which, in moments of levity, he had thrown on the matrimonial state; and he has lately quitted the busy scenes and brilliant circles of the metropolis for a calm retirement at Hanworth, where we hope he will enjoy domestic happiness, and that it will be long, very long before a *serious* epitaph shall become necessary to commemorate his talents and his virtues! S.

Mr. W. recited these verses to the *Literati Club*, and was desired to translate them for the *country gentlemen*, which he did as follows:

"TO THE COMTE DE BUFFON.

"Oh THOU, to whom kind NATURE has reveal'd
Whate'er from former times she had conceal'd;
Illustrious naturalist! thrice honour'd sage!
Born to instruct and to delight the age:
In *us* dame Nature's artless children see,
Who come to pour their ardent vows for thee!
Be this blest day renown'd throughout the earth,
Th' auspicious day that to BUFFON gave birth!
No costly gifts we bring, our only wealth
Is peace, and innocence, and rosy health:
Accept these flowr's, the produce of the fields,
Which bounteous Nature without culture yields;
To thee their grateful odours they send forth,
Off'rings to WISDOM and superior worth!"

SAMUEL

SAMUEL L. MITCHILL, M. D.

MANY of the leading men in the American Revolution have terminated their earthly career. Putnam, Greene, Mifflin, and Washington, have ended their days, as well as Randolph, Hancock, Lee, and Franklin. Of their survivors some are infirm with age, or have voluntarily withdrawn from public affairs. John Dickinson enjoys domestic ease on the banks of the Delaware; Charles Thompson has employed himself for many years in an English version of the Septuagint; Horatio Gates resides at his villa in the neighbourhood of New York; and Samuel Adams, who has long survived the revolutionary war, beholds from Boston the progress of the new order of things which has thence arisen. Others of the patriots still remain in active service; Thomas Jefferson the present President of the United States, and Aaron Burr the Vice-President, were also strenuous in achieving the liberties of their country.

But there is another class of Americans who have within a few years attracted a large share of notice. This comprehends those who were too young to be engaged in effecting the Revolution, but have grown up to manhood since the establishment of the peace of 1783. To this list belongs a number of men who have distinguished themselves in Congress and elsewhere, since the ratification of the federal Constitution of 1787. Madison, Ames, Vining, Harper, Otis, Bayard, Rutledge, Nicholas, Dexter, and several

others that have excited a considerable share of public curiosity, have all become conspicuous since the termination of the war.

The person of whom we now offer some slight account, is one of this younger class. He was a boy when the declaration of independence was made in 1776, and had not attained maturity when that independence was allowed and confirmed by Great Britain. Mr. Mitchill spent several years immediately subsequent to the establishment of peace, in Europe, visiting France, England, and Scotland, for the purpose of education. Being destined for the profession of physic, he took a Doctor's degree at Edinburgh, in the autumn of 1786; and the next year returned to his own country. Among his intimate associates when in the metropolis of the northern kingdom, were James Mackintosh, Thomas Beddoes, and Theobald M'Kenna, then among the most distinguished students in that famous University. It is related of him, that he imbibed a taste for Natural History when a child, by reading the history of animals compiled by Goldsmith, which accidentally fell into his hands. This was afterwards much improved by a sight of the cabinets in Paris and London, but more particularly by the lectures and experiments of Dr. Black, and by the discourses and exhibition of specimens by Professor Walker. Of this latter gentleman it is remarkable, that he gave instruction in botany both to Rousseau and to Mitchill. When Rousseau's persecutions in France compelled him to seek an asylum in England, he

studied

studied botany as an amusement, although far advanced in life, and Walker used to ramble with him on the banks of the Thames. When Mitchill was the Professor's pupil, he received tuition in the same branch of science along the borders of the Forth and the Esk.

Generally speaking, the profession of physic is little calculated to favour a man's advancement in public life. He may indeed receive an appointment in the army or navy; he may be made a professor in a college, or he may rise to something *in ordinary or extraordinary* about a court. But in all these cases he has more a derivative than an independent kind of importance. The withdrawing of gentlemen of the medical profession from parochial offices and juries, has excluded them from higher public trusts; and however it may have answered the gainful views of the busy practiser, has exceedingly lessened the public weight and consequence of the profession itself. This however is not so generally the case in America. Physicians are frequently found both on grand and petty juries. They serve as town-clerks, supervisors, and even as constables. The counties in which they reside, not unfrequently elect them to serve as delegates to the Assemblies, or Houses of Commons; and indeed, oftentimes, the freeholders of the districts which they inhabit choose them members of the Senate or Council. Cadwallader Colden, the man who administered the government of New York before the Revolution, who wrote the History of the Five Indian Nations, and who de-

scribed the vegetables of his vicinity in Ulster county, and transmitted them to Linnæus, was a physician. So were Mr. Clayton, the late Governor of the State of Delaware, and Mr. Bartlett, who not long since was Governor of New Hampshire. The like is true in respect to Mr. M'Henry, the late Secretary at War; and General Wilkinson, now Commander in Chief of the army of the United States.

The name of Dr. Rush, the Professor of the Practice of Medicine in Philadelphia, is to be seen in the list of those intrepid patriots who subscribed the declaration of independence. And Dr. Ramsay, the Historian of the American Revolution, acted as a member of the Continental Congress during the stormy scenes of the Revolution. Dr. Williamson, the writer of the History of North Carolina, has served in the Congress both under the old confederation and the new; and the names of Tucker, White, Holten, Jones, and Williams, are familiar to the readers of the debates and journals of the American Congress. Indeed, it is at this moment remarkable, that three of the most important places in America send physicians to represent them in Congress; for the city of New York, the first in commercial consequence in the western world, has elected Dr. Mitchill; the town of Boston, Dr. Eustis; and the county of Philadelphia, Dr. Leib. One of the districts of Maryland has also chosen Dr. Archer. In short, two physicians are among the Directors of the Bank of the United States, viz. Dr. Charlton of New York, and Dr. M'Lurg of Richmond. The political

political talents of Dr. Jarvis in Massachusetts, and of Dr. Foushee in Virginia, have been often celebrated in their own country.

Mr. Mitchill had witnessed many forerunners of the Revolution which afterwards happened in France while he resided there. Some of these were, the disrespect into which the monastic orders had fallen; the disregard of the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Religion; open discontent expressed against the Farmers-General, and the manner of assessing and collecting taxes; and the acquisition of wealth and talents among the *Tiers Etats*; circumstances highly unfavourable to the usurpations and arrogance of the privileged orders. Although at that time, neither he, nor probably any mortal else, foresaw the subversion of the ancient *regime*, and the prostration of the influence of the Bourbons.

On leaving Europe he was entrusted with public dispatches from Mr. Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, at the Court of St. James's, to some of the heads of departments in the American Government, and received many civilities from that gentleman. He arrived in America just in season to witness the progress of another Revolution in the national government of his native commonwealth, from the loosely-coherent and ill-compacted confederation of States hastily conceived during the war, to the more efficient and better-planned system called the New Federal Constitution.

The parties which existed during the revolution, had been denominated *Whigs* and *Tories*. The former

of these triumphed over the latter; but after the invaders had withdrawn, the Whigs divided among themselves. The denominations of the great parties into which they split, were *federalists* and *anti-federalists*. To the first of these belonged that portion of the Whigs who felt some predilection for monarchy, or a consolidated government; and all the old Tories whom the lenity of the laws permitted to remain or to return among them. In the second was included that part of the Whigs who adhered to the original principles of the revolution; such as were friends of a more exact representative and popular government. In the conflict the Federalists prevailed, the new Constitution was adopted, and both parties agreed to support it. Federalism predominated in the councils of the nation, and anti-federalism no where existed any longer.

Under this new arrangement, they who were called to offices in the government proceeded to the performances of their respective duties. It is however vain to expect that in free states all men will be of one mind. Citizens equally wise, equally virtuous, and equally zealous for the public-good, often differ materially as to measures, and the management of public affairs. Hence arise the present parties in America, called *the Administration* and *the Opposition*.

During a period of twelve years, the aristocratical or monarchical party have possessed the sway. Eight of these passed under the presidency of Washington, and the remaining four under that of Adams. At the last election, the democratic or republican party at

length

length prevailed, and Thomas Jefferson was chosen President for four years, from the 4th of March 1801. By this change of parties, the *Democrats* have resumed the ascendency in American politics, and the Aristocrats form the *Opposition.* Dr. Mitchill was elected by the republicans of New York, and of course is numbered with the friends of the new Administration.

His attention has been a good deal directed to philosophical objects; in the prosecution of which, besides a large share of original remark and experiment, he has carried on a very extensive correspondence. The subjects which he has investigated with most labour, are *the Production, Composition, and Operation of Pestilential Fluids,* or the History of those gases or vapours which infect the atmosphere, and excite febrile distempers. The *doctrine* of SEPTON, offered to the world by him and his pupils, in consequence of these investigations, forms a memorable era in modern science. Additional and brighter light has been shed thereby upon all the branches of experimental physicks which are connected with it, such as the putrefactive process, the formation of the atmosphere, the fertilization of land, the treatment of fevers, improvement of the police of cities, the promotion of household economy, &c. These, indeed, constitute so respectable and extensive a portion of the investigations of the present day, that it is deemed reproachful to be unacquainted with them.

Of Dr. M.'s talent for poetry we have been informed; but his versification of his Doctrine of Sey-

ton, in the first volume of the Medical Repository, and his translation of the song in honour of Harmodius and Aristagiton into English, are the only pieces we have seen in print. Many more of his poetical effusions have been perused in manuscript among the circles of his acquaintance.

COLONEL TATHAM,

Formerly a Field Officer in the Service of the American Republic, and lately Supervisor of the London Docks.

THE events of human life, and the good or ill fortune of individuals, often depend on a variety of trivial and minute circumstances. That there is

"A tide in the affairs of men"—

was admirably observed by our great poet, and few have experienced the truth of this observation oftener than the subject of the present memoir.

Colonel William Tatham is descended from an ancient and respectable family * in the north of England; the late William Tatham, of Askham Hall, in the county of Westmoreland, Esq. was his uncle, and he is nearly related to the family of Lowther, of which the Earl of Lonsdale is the head. He was born at Hutton in the Forest, in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1752, of which parish his father, the Rev.

* See Burn's History of Cumberland and Westmoreland, vol. i. p. 424; also title *De Lancaster, Crermen, &c. ibid.* The Editor has seen a pedigree in which the Colonel's descent is traced from Lord Morville.

Sandford

Sandford Tatham, afterwards became rector; he had also the living of Appleby in Westmoreland, &c. His parents had four other children, three sons* and a daughter. William, the eldest son, of whom we now treat, was brought up by his maternal grandmother, the widow of Henry Marsden, Esq. of Gisborne Hall, in the county of York, who then lived at Lancaster, and he resided along with her until her death, which occurred in 1760. While a child he received the rudiments of instruction from a Mr. Ashburner, who conducted the *Friend's* School at Lancaster, and by whom the Rawlinsons, the Dilworths, the Lawsons, and other respectable persons of that place were also initiated. When the unfortunate event alluded to above took place, he was received under the private tuition of the Rev. Mr. Lee, curate of Lancaster church, and brought up along with two respectable young gentlemen, one of whom has since obtained a seat in the British parliament. It would appear from circumstances, however, that he did not remain long at Lancaster, but removed to Overkellet, where he obtained the remainder of the scanty education his parents thought fit to bestow upon him from the Rev. Mr. Watson, now of Lancaster, and the late Mr. Pooler.

Some of the events in the life of this gentleman are equally singular and surprising; nor is it one of the least remarkable that, although the eldest son of re-

* One of these sons, Sandford, is a post-captain in the British navy; Charles, another of them, is a captain in the service of the American States.

spectable

spectable parents, he was sent across the Atlantic before he had finished his studies, and actually "launched," to use his own words, "into a world of strangers," in the month of April, 1769, when he was only seventeen years of age, without profession, trade, or employment, and with no more than one single *family guinea* in his pocket!

Bred to no occupation, brought up to no calling, utterly unacquainted with business, although abandoned and forsaken, he was not however lost; for meeting with an acquaintance, he was by him introduced to the house of Messrs. Carter and Trent, respectable merchants on James' River, in Virginia; and what reflects no little credit on him, possessed their friendship until the end of their lives.

Mr. Tatham soon began to look forward, and aspired at length to trade on his own account; but his commercial speculations were unavoidably interrupted by the political projects of the British Cabinet respecting the internal taxation of America: these produced a correspondent resistance on the part of the inhabitants, which first evincing itself in *non-importation associations*, proved fatal to the spirit of mercantile enterprise, and blasted all the views of our youthful adventurer. Possessing a fertile mind, he was not, however, destitute of resources. No sooner did the colonial war break out than Mr. Tatham removed to the western frontier in search of better fortune. His family, indeed, having espoused the royal cause, signified its displeasure at the daring idea of resistance on the part of the Americans, but it had but little claim

upon

upon his gratitude, and as it offered advice how to act, without presenting the means of withdrawing from the conflict, he was of course left to his fate, and found himself in some measure obliged to swim along the stream of public opinion, and act on the side of the colonies.

Having thus taken a decided part in the political contest that now ensued, he determined to act with equal promptitude and vigour, and in the course of the struggle called forth all his powers, both mental and corporeal.

Mr. T. appears to have commenced his career as a legislator, having undertaken to systematise the jurisprudence of the *Tenessee country*, then in a state of anarchy; and the memorial on which the civil and military organization of that government was founded was actually drawn up by him, and is still preserved in the archives of North Carolina, at a time when he was no more than twenty-four years of age!*

About this period also he was appointed adjutant of the military force of the new district of Washington, in which capacity he served during the attack of the Cherokee and Creek Indians at Fort Caswel, on Watauga River, under Colonel John Carter, and in company with the present General James Robertson and General Sevier. In the latter part of that campaign he acted in a similar station with the troops encamped at the Long Island of Holsten, under com-

* Petition of the inhabitants of Wantage and Nolochuckie, July 5, 1776.

mand

mand of the late Brigadier General Russel, whose approbation and thanks he received; and during the following year, 1777, he received an additional commission as quarter-master at Fort Williams, on Nolochuckie River, under General Sevier, then major commandant. At the treaty which took place with the Cherokee Indians, in the summer of 1777, at the Long Island of Holstein, he was present, and assisted the commissioners of North Carolina in preparing the documents and conducting the conference.

In the autumn of the same year, 1777, he returned from Nolochuckie by way of the Moravian towns, in North Carolina, to Virginia; where, in 1778, he again entered into mercantile pursuits, and was also one of the volunteer cavalry, composed of the young gentlemen of Virginia, equipped at their own expence, under command of General Nelson. In this capacity he took an active part in quelling the riots of that year at South Quay, and sustained an ample proportion of those foolish prejudices which frequently arise on similar occasions; but he was thus deprived of the pleasure of accompanying his *corps* on their march towards head-quarters, where they were disbanded with thanks.

During the following year, 1779, he entered again upon active service, and possessed the confidence of General Scott, who commanded at Williamsburgh; being sent by that officer to reconnoitre the enemy in the country of Nausemond, he entered the town of Suffolk while in flames, just as their rear marched out of it, and made his report to the general's

neral's entire satisfaction. It was on this occasion that he became first acquainted with Mr. Hardy, one of the Virginia members, whose funeral was afterwards so highly honoured by Congress, and whom he never mentions but with respect and gratitude*.

In the course of 1780 Mr. T. made himself acquainted with the business of the courts of justice: he at the same time commenced the study of the law under the direction of his friend Mr. Hardy.

In the following year he returned to the western frontiers of North Carolina, where he assisted in arranging the business of the Land-office, and where he also became intimately acquainted with General Davie, late Envoy to the court of Versailles, and with Spruce Macoy, Esq. now one of the Judges of the superior courts of law and equity in North Carolina. Having spent the hard winter of this year in the western woods, under the imperfect shelter of an open log cabin, he returned in 1780 to Richmond in Virginia, in the neighbourhood of which he and Colonel John Todd, of Kentuckie, composed one of the first manuscript sketches of the history of the western country which had been exhibited to the inhabitants of the Trans-atlantic continent. Here he became known to Mr. Jefferson, the present President of the United States, and then Governor of Virginia, who spoke favourably of that effort in a

* Mr. Hardy died while attending Congress in 1785, or 1786, and was voted a public burial at New York, the corpse being attended by the officers of government, foreign ambassadors, &c.

letter to General Greene, and has ever since conferred on this gentleman the honour of his friendship; the benefit of which has been experienced by him on various occasions. He was also at this period in the military *suite* of General Weedon.

The invasion of Virginia by Generals Phillips and Arnold taking place about this time, he was again called forth into actual service, and attached to the person of General Nelson, being nominated an auxiliary officer in his suite during the first part of that campaign. At the siege of York he acted as a volunteer, and (being accompanied by Mr. Ramsay of Norfolk) was on the field at the ever memorable storm of the redoubts which surrendered to the American arms, during the night of the 14th of October, in the year 1781.

After the capture of Lord Cornwallis's army, and the close of this campaign, (events which contributed greatly towards the return of peace) he was called to occupy a place dependant on the Board of Privy Council in Virginia, in consequence of an appointment equally unexpected and unsolicited. In this capacity he acquitted himself with credit to his own reputation, and satisfaction to the members who composed that respectable department; but in October 1782, having engaged in an enterprize confided solely to his friend Mr. Hardy, then a member of this Privy Council, he resigned his office, and went to sea in a leaky vessel, which depended greatly on her pumps for safety. In the course of this voyage he was shipwrecked on the coast of East Jersey, whence he repaired

paired to Philadelphia, and entered again into commercial pursuits.

Here he once more met with his friend Mr. Jefferson, then about to embark for Spain, but whose mission was afterwards countermanded: this gentleman furnished him with an useful introductory letter, and on the eve of peace, which was proclaimed on the 18th of April (being the day before he sailed), he embarked for the Havannah, in order to combine a knowledge of the Spanish interests in the West Indies with that which he had acquired in those western countries of the United States which border on the Mississippi territories of his Catholic Majesty.

After spending some weeks at the Havannah, and satisfying himself concerning the importance of that place in respect to the settlements just alluded to, he returned to Virginia, and proceeded immediately to General Davie's, in North Carolina, under whom he finished his studies in the law, and was admitted to the bar of the county courts in that country, by a licence dated March 24, 1784, under the hands and seals of the then *Judges of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity*, Samuel Ashe, Samuel Spencer, and John Williams.

Mr. Tatham commenced the practice of the law in conformity to General Washington's injunctions, that those who had been successful in a military life should endeavour to be equally useful in the civil functions of society. About this time he designed to have returned to England, but some circumstances intervened, and prevented him from fulfilling

his

his wishes; he therefore continued several years longer in the practice of the law and the acquirement of local knowledge, for he found it convenient to combine these two objects together, and by this means to attain a more thorough information of the American country and its interests.

In 1786, in conjunction with John Willis, Esq. of Robeson County, in North Carolina, he laid out, named, and established the prosperous town of *Lumberton*, on the banks of Drowning Creek in that county, thirty-one miles south of Fayetteville; and to the active zeal of these gentlemen, in putting that water-course on the footing of a public road, the Americans are chiefly indebted for an hundred miles of inland navigation, of which that country now enjoys the benefit.

During this and the two foregoing years he took great pains to explore the several rivers of North Carolina, and their western communications towards the Mississippi; and, although he had to encounter many and almost inconceivable difficulties, in consequence of the prejudice with which national improvements are ever surveyed, he so far succeeded as to obtain orders for *a Jury of Survey and Report* concerning the navigable state of the several upland rivers, and the means of improving them.

In the course of the following year (1787) he was elected a member of the State Legislature of North Carolina; and at this session he entered his *single* protest against the encroachments of land speculators on the territories of the Chickasaw Indians, and also against

against those indulgencies in the land offices which have ultimately terminated in the practice of many frauds, and the loss of much credit.

In December 1787 he was elected, by the joint ballot of both houses of the legislature, to fill the commission of Lieutenant Colonel (in consequence of the new arrangements of the military system of that period) in the division of Fayette.

About this time Colonel Tatham received letters of a conciliatory nature from England, and, after the necessary preparations, he arrived in this kingdom in October following (1788). Soon after this he revisited his native spot, and his relations and friends, in the northern counties of the kingdom, by whom he was *politely* received; particularly by the Earl of Lonsdale, at his memorable *fête* at Whitehaven Castle, on the occasion of the centenary revolution of the landing of William the Third in 1688, which was celebrated there immediately preceding his Majesty's indisposition.

In July 1789 the Colonel returned to Virginia, on his way back to Carolina; but being selected, in February 1790, by the Governor* and Privy Council of that state, as the person best calculated to supply the War Office with the necessary information relative to the deficiencies of geographical information on the southern and western frontiers, he devoted himself earnestly to that object, on which he has ever since been assiduously engaged; and, although

* His Excellency Beverley Randolph.

self-taught (without either instruction or example) such has been his perseverance and industry, that the public may expect the publication of his geographical works, to an astonishing extent for the labour of a single individual, unassisted by any *pecuniary* support, although, in other respects, the American government, and many gentlemen of the highest reputation, have afforded him a very liberal patronage.

In the progress of this employment, and for the temporary relief of the War Office, Colonel Tatham compiled an analysis of the state of Virginia in 1790-1, which the Secretary at War caused to be published in Philadelphia. He had at this time an uninterrupted access to the archives of Virginia, and public apartments were assigned him, for the furtherance of his pursuits, in the capital of that commonwealth, together with recommendatory resolutions, and other honourable records of approbation.

From Richmond, on James River, Colonel T. accompanied General Lee (then governor of Virginia) on his tour to the south-western frontiers, and made other western tours in 1792 and 1793 to the waters of the Mississippi.

On the second day of September 1792, he was admitted to practise law in the several courts of law and equity in the Tennessée government, by the governor's licence; and, on the 15th of September following, the judges of the general court of Virginia permitted him to enjoy the same privileges in all

all the superior and inferior courts of that commonwealth *.

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* During this gentleman's practice in the courts of the Tennessée government, a circumstance happened which is strongly characteristic. In the month of March, 1793, several gentlemen of the law had advertised in the Knoxville Gazette, "that for the "future no application need be made to them for advice in any "matter of law, or to appear in any cause, either in the superior "or inferior courts, without first paying the fees established by "law, or giving their notes for the same." On the 6th of April following Mr. T. published the following in the same paper:

"*Fiat Justitia!*

"Having adopted the above motto as early as I had the honour of admission to the bar, I have covenanted with myself that I will never knowingly depart from it; and on this foundation I have built a few maxims which afford my reflections an unspeakable satisfaction.

"1st. I will practise law, because it offers me opportunities of being a more useful member of society.

"2dly. I will not turn a deaf ear to any man because his purse is empty.

"3dly. I will advise no man beyond my comprehension of his cause.

"4thly. I will bring none into law who my conscience tells me should be kept out of it.

"5thly. I will never be unmindful of the case of humanity; and this comprehends the fatherless, widows, and bondage.

"6thly. I will be faithful to my client; but never so unfaithful to myself as to become a party in his crime.

"7thly. In criminal cases I will not under-rate my own abilities; for if my client proves a villain, his money is better in my pocket, and if not, I hold the option.

"8thly. I will never acknowledge the omnipotence of legislation, or consider any acts to be law beyond the spirit of the constitution.

In October 1793, on account of his superior knowledge of that country, he was solicited by the Marshal of the United States for the federal district of Virginia, to subdivide that district into *ridings*, for the accommodation of the public business by the help of a dozen of deputies.

In 1794, Colonel T. repaired to the federal city of Washington, and thence to Philadelphia on his geographical pursuits: here the voluminous speculations of Meſſrs. Moris, Nicholson, and Greenleaf, were submitted to his examination; and, if his advice had been taken, the parties might perhaps have avoided some degree of trouble. In Philadelphia also he published that remarkable case of *Kamper* against *Hawkins*, wherein the Judges of the General Court of Virginia evinced

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"9thly. No man's greatness shall elevate him above the justice due to my client.

"10thly. I will not consent to a compromise where I conceive a verdict essential to my client's future reputation or protection, for of this he cannot be a complete judge.

"11thly. I will advise the turbulent with candour; and if they will go to law against my advice, they must pardon me for volunteering it against them.

"12thly. I will acknowledge every man's right to manage his own cause if he pleases.

"The above are *my* rules of practice, and though I will not (at this critical juncture), promise to finish my business in person, but if the public interests should require my removal from hence, will do every thing in my power for those who like to employ me, and endeavour to leave them in proper hands if I should be absent.

(Signed)

WILLIAM TATHAM."

Knoxville, March 21, 1793.

evinced such an exemplary firmness in unanimously over-ruling an *unconstitutional jurisdiction*. At this place Colonel T. fixed his geographical office for one whole year, and made several unsuccessful efforts for publication; but was more fortunate in respect to the accumulation of documents, and the extension of a respectable intercourse among the leading characters of the world.

Soon after this, an event occurred in his life which has created some little curiosity, and it may not be amiss to throw as much light on that affair as the nature of the transaction and confidential propriety will justify. The collection of geographical documents which he had made, together with the repeated knowledge which he had attained, concerning the interests and public economy of North America, is said to have induced many, both from policy and speculation, to cultivate his society; in consequence of this, he soon attained a very extensive and even minute acquaintance with the various intrigues and designs of the times; and he is said to have intimated a foresight of many evils which have since occurred to several leading characters in America. He had remonstrated for many years against the loose practices of the land offices, as the grounds of future public calamities. He had private information of premeditated mischiefs, which were too far advanced to be counteracted by the ordinary measures of public interference; and nothing but individual promptitude seemed likely to avert the impending horrors, and discriminate the acts of individuals from the will of

the community. Thus circumstanced between his private knowledge on one hand, and his allegiance on the other, it was difficult to act at all with propriety, and still more to act for the best in a case which had already become desperate, and beyond the controul of any department which could then have been consulted. To have conferred with General Washington, (not to speak of the intrusion) would have subjected that excellent man to almost unavoidable censure, and involved the United States in a war in which they might have been vanquished.

Colonel T. saw but one remedy for the impending evil: this was *to confer with the Spanish Minister on certain ill-timed measures, grounded on recently propagated errors in Spain, which (probably) none but their two selves had attained a thorough knowledge of; and the result of which no man in America had sufficient power and authority to parry in due time.* He had already been introduced to this worthy personage, had cultivated an acquaintance with him, and had obtained his confidence. Animated by the purest motives, the Colonel preferred the risk of his own person to that of involving the nation in a torrent of bloodshed: if his life should be sacrificed, it was but a partial evil to the community; but the prospect of rescuing the country and its innocent western inhabitants from misery, was an event accompanied with inexpressible satisfaction. Under these circumstances, *to the honour of the head and heart of Don Joseph de Jaudennes be it recorded*, that the purse and patronage of this virtuous man enabled him to attempt

at

at the Court of Spain, that which could not be done in America. Under these auspices, and without the privity of any one to the material points of his mission, Colonel T. embarked at New York in November 1795, on board a Swedish bark bound for Cadiz, at which place he arrived on Christmas day following; and as the yellow fever had recently raged in New York, and this was the first ship which had arrived in that harbour since this event, she was ordered to undergo quarantine in the midst of the French fleet, then commanded by Monsieur Richery.

After the qnarantine had expired, our traveller was landed in his Catholic Majesty's custom-house barge, having previously transmitted the King's *public dispatches* in a pail of vinegar. As he refused to deliver his *private letters* to any one but the Prince, he was conducted to the King's Lieutenant, who then commanded during an inter-regnum of the office of the governor who had retired; and to him he delivered a letter of introduction, addressed to the chief officer in command wheresoever he should arrive in Spain. He was now permitted to land his baggage, which was carefully sealed and deposited in the King's warehouses, until passports were received from Madrid, and until his Majesty's carriers were prepared to convey it forward without further trouble to the proprietor.

Colonel T. now spent a few weeks in Cadiz, confining himself to a small acquaintance; and as the King was at this time at *Bajadoz* on the river Guadiana on the confines of Portugal, and expected daily

at the city of Seville, whither the Queen had vowed a visit to the shrine of San Fernando, who lies embalmed in the grand cathedral of that place, he went over the bay privately to the country house of a merchant of Cadiz, whence being escorted by two armed peasants on horseback, he set out by a private road to Xeves de la Frontera, without being able to exchange a word with his guides, but who nevertheless, in consequence of their instructions, to which they tenaciously adhered, conveyed him faithfully into the hands of a respectable merchant of Seville, to whom his friend at Cadiz had furnished him with letters of credit, and who lodged him safe at the *Possada de Barviera.*

Here Colonel T. had leisure to contemplate the ancient grandeur of the days of Columbus, and the magnificent preparations for their Majesties reception. The King arrived on the 18th of February, and after the Prince of Peace had rested a day or two from the fatigue of his journey, and the ceremonies that ensued, Colonel T. intimated his arrival, and stated, that he was entrusted with introductory letters to be delivered to himself alone. The prime minister on receiving notice of this event, immediately dispatched an officer of the King's guards with a *prontamente*, or appointment to come to the palace at eight o'clock the next evening.

Precisely at the hour notified, Colonel T. being dressed in the field uniform of the American States, and accompanied by a merchant of Seville who spoke the English tongue, arrived at the gate, but as his interpreter,

interpreter, not being either in regimentals or in a court dress, did not think it proper for *him* to pass the centinel at the palace, he remained there, but pointed out the route for Colonel T., who thus instructed, passed on unmolested through a lane of the Prince's livery servants to a door in the keeping of the grand porter of the inner chambers. Here occurred an interview somewhat laughable; for the Colonel, (who pretended to no other than his mother tongue) was accosted in all the languages and dialects of the European continent, English alone excepted. Having at length however led an officer by signs to the gentleman he had left at the door, it was quickly announced to the Prince that a foreign officer demanded admittance to his presence, but that the gentleman spoke *no language at all!!* nor would he open his mouth to any one but himself.

It appeared that the minister was at this moment amusing himself at chess, or some other game, either with their Majesties themselves, or with some of the younger branches of the royal family. Colonel T.'s arrival, however, being notified, he sent one of the gentlemen in waiting to conduct him in. In the first and second rooms he passed several ladies of the court, &c. In the third, he was met by the prince and a nobleman, in some official station, who spoke the English language. Here Colonel T. was received by the minister in an easy and familiar style; and having drawn chairs round the brassero,* (one of which

* A *brassero* is a large high kind of chaffing dish for burning charcoal.

the

the prince presented to him) they sat down. The minister then perused the introductory letter, welcomed him to Spain, and spent some time in easy and familiar conversation until Colonel T. conceived it a proper hour to withdraw.

During this very agreeable interview the prince used few words; when he did speak, his questions were directed to select and leading points, chiefly concerning General Washington. In a single instance he inadvertently aimed at one question, which Colonel T. refused to answer, intimating that it seemed to concern the good faith of his allegiance: the premier in the most polite manner acquiesced, and no similar interrogatory was ever after put to him in Spain.

From this time forward our negociator had the satisfaction of being received every where with marks of civility and esteem; and he also enjoyed the good fortune to be particularly noticed by the king and his family.

Having spent some time in this city, and seen most of the fine things exhibited for the entertainment of the royal visitors, he set out on his journey to Aranjuez in the company of Charles Clavering, Esq. (who was then on his travels in Spain), and the rev. Mr. Mavor, chaplain to the Marquis of Bute, at that time ambassador from the court of London to that of Madrid. They obtained the Prince's permission for a coach and six mules for the journey, which, considering the hurry of the occasion, was a very great favour.

On

On their arrival at Aranjuez, our traveller presented his introductory letters to the late Minister of Finance, Don Diego de Gardoqui, by whom he was received in a friendly manner. Here he remained until the King's return from Cadiz, and continued afterwards for some time, experiencing the friendly notice of the court on one hand, while he was subjected on the other to the various conjectures of foreign residents concerning the *public* or *private* nature of a mission, as accompanied with such flattering appearances; this however made little impression on a mind accustomed to many sudden reverses of fortune.

In this situation of affairs, overtures were made by France to involve Spain in the war. On this occasion Colonel T. made use of what little influence he possessed to continue that kingdom in a state of peace and neutrality, and strengthen her good understanding with the United States of America: not that he had any particular connexion with or attachment to party matters, any prejudice against France, or concern with any other of the Belligerent Powers; but because he was desirous to have preserved the peace of a monarch and people whose kind reception claimed his thanks and gratitude; because in this line of conduct he discovered the prospect of a general peace, and because it comported with those duties of neutrality which he conceived to be due from his situation, both in respect to the interests of the United States and to the happiness of his fellow creatures. Had he been possessed of the Spanish language, he could doubtless

doubtless have enforced his arguments with more force and effect.

In these sentiments, however, he was a dissenter from the ostensible opinion of the American *Chargé des Affairs*, then residing at the Spanish *Sitio*; and from that of the French Ambassador, who at length carried his point—a circumstance which authorizes a conjecture concerning the grounds of his dismission from the dominions of the King of Spain, who never condescends to assign a reason for his *absolute pleasure.*

Colonel T. was no sooner known to visit the Marquis of Bute, at his house in Madrid, than he discovered an evident change in his situation, which foreboded events in which he found himself not mistaken; he was fully aware of them, and prepared for the worst.

On the 8th of July, 1796, he accordingly received a notification, which he had indeed anticipated from a timely hint through the Prince of Asturias's deportment. Whether this arose from the intrigues of the period, or any demerit in himself, will be easily conjectured on a review of the following premisses: The Prince of Peace's letter to Colonel Tatham, of the foregoing date, contains his dismissal in a few words,—

"Por ultimo que S. M. quiere que salga V. S. prontamente de sus estados y se dirija donde major le paresca." *

* A gentleman of the Court of Spain having intimated that the original is not perfectly good Spanish, some allowance has been made in translating it as near as possible to the sense.

"Ci

"Ci quanto tengo que participara V. S. cuya vida pido a Dios gde. ms. as.—Palacio 8 de Julio, 1796."

Understood to be in English thus:—

"Lastly, that, his Majesty requires that your Lordship depart immediately from his dominions, and direct your course whithersoever you may conceive it most to your advantage."

"But I have it nevertheless in charge to assure your Lordship, of our wishes that God may guard your life many years."

Given at the Palace, the 8th July, 1796.

There is certainly nothing very harsh or forbidding in this order, to a man who was born in England, lived on good terms with her Ambassador, and openly opposed a war against her; unless the *prontamente* should be so considered.

To those who know the predicament of a *prontamente* order, and the dangers of a delay under such a requisition, the following circumstances will be an explanation which softens the decree.

1. The Colonel's dismissal is dated on the 8th July, 1796:

2. He received a bow of *marked respect* from the King, in the public walks of Madrid, after his departure was decreed;

3. He was favoured with a respectful letter from the Prince of Peace, on the 12th of July, four days after the order, which has this friendly conclusion—

"*Repito a V. S. mi sincera attention y mis deseos di que Dios gde. Su vida Ms. As.*" &c.

In English thus:—

"I, repeat to your Lordship my sincere attention, and my prayers that God may guard your life many years, &c."

4. On

4. On the 13th of July, the same Prince granted Colonel T. a passport to come to England; and, it is remarkable that, although the dismissal was of an *immediate* nature, that this passport (bearing date four days later) was an *unlimited* one;

And 5. The Marquis of Bute's passport to Colonel T. is dated on the 19th July, 1796, in Madrid; which is eleven days later than the dismissal; during all which time Colonel T. appeared openly in that city and at the Palace.

At length he left Madrid on the 20th of July, and landed at Plymouth on the 16th of August, whence he proceeded to London, where he has ever since continued.

Since his arrival in the capital, he has published several literary works, all of which were calculated to promote pacific employments, to attain the encrease of mechanical powers, and to contribute to the extension of agriculture and commerce: the character of an author, however, is best discovered in his writings. The Colonel has in particular directed his attention to the success of English agriculture, and the benefits to be derived from civil engineering, which constitute his favourite pursuits. He has endeavoured to awaken the notice of the merchants and citizens of London, concerning the crowded state of commerce in their streets and in their port; and he has held out the means of relief in an extensive book, containing *a Plan for insulating the Metropolis, by means of a navigable Canal.*

In

In the early part of the present year, 1801, Colonel Tatham was called to the superintendence of the London docks at Wapping; where he took charge of the Office of Works, and the [illegible]ous operations of an undertaking, so replete with interest and variety, as to present a most extensive field for the display of that general knowledge which is only to be acquired by experience and intercourse with the world.

On this occasion, however, we are led to suppose he was at first somewhat mortified by the necessity of checking his own ideas in favour of those of others; for, as the Directors had condescended to receive instructions from a committee of Engineers, who are now dismissed, it became necessary that their plans should be executed without opposition, although his own should be superior on the score of method, expedition, and expence. He was therefore, in general, restrained in his desires, that the company should profit by those improvements which result from travelling and observation; but on some occasions he was indulged in his plans, and he hath left a lasting memorial in the first piling of the foundation for the *drainage pipe*, which was executed under his superintendance, and driven in *interpiled quincunx*, according to his own suggestion, and although subject to many of those obstacles which ever occur in the progress of new and magnificent undertakings, he has happily succeeded so far as to obviate the principal difficulties by zeal and perseverance.

The primary operations of taking down buildings, reducing

reducing the ground to a proper level, enclosing and preparing the work-yards, putting the public sewers in g[illegible]d condition, constructing the jettie for landing ma[illegible], digging the steam engine foundation, piling the engine pit, boring the sections of strata, flanking the drainage pipes, receiving large quantities of timber and stone, in addition to the preparations of tide and coffer work, have simplified the after-parts of the engineering; and the Court of Directors have, at length, come to a new determination, *to complete what remains to be done by contract.*

This resolution, of course precludes the further services of Colonel Tatham, who is not within that description of persons; and we learn that, on the 11th of July last, he accordingly surrendered the keys of office to his successor, at the head of near five hundred orderly workmen, who were mostly discharged on this occasion; and whose prudent deportment, and grateful hearts, bore an ample testimony of the kindness and attention which they had experienced.

Whether this radical change of system will be attended with benefit to those connected with the property of the docks, is a question which time alone can determine: but so far as their late supervisor is concerned, it would be unjust to omit, that his conduct has been amply approved of by his employers.

Before we take leave of this interesting and extraordinary character, it may not be improper to remark, that he has adopted certain principles of social economy; and, as his candour does not hesitate to avow them openly, there can be no impropriety

priety in committing them to print. He professes to believe,

1st. That he who is a good *citizen* in any one country, will never be a bad *subject* in any other; nor will a bad man be bettered by the transposition of his allegiance: he is in each case responsible for his demeanor in regard to society.

2dly. It becomes the dignity of human nature to be respectful to civil government, and those in authority: men should keep in view their final amenability to God.

3dly. The essence of *true liberty* is comprized in doing "as we would be done by," or in other words, so directing our own acts, under the public permission, that they shall neither restrain the same acts, or the same right of acting, in any other individual of the community.

4thly. It is impious to commit a voluntary aggression, and if people would begin the *fashion* of thinking so, the annihilation of follies and of crimes would be half effected.

THE RIGHT REVEREND

GEORGE PRETTYMAN, D.D. F.R.S.

LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

THIS eminent prelate is the son of a tradesman at St. Edmund's Bury in the county of Suffolk, where he received his education, and then removed to Pembroke College, Cambridge, of which society he became fellow and tutor.

It was his good fortune to have for a pupil Mr. William Pitt, whom he instructed in mathematics, and whose proficiency did honour to the tutor as well as to himself. When that gentleman came into the zenith of power, he did not prove forgetful of his college instructor; but knowing his aptitude for business and skill in calculation, took him to be his private secretary. Church preferments were not long from pouring in upon one who had the choicest within his reach. The valuable rectory of Sudbury, with the chapel of Orford in Suffolk, were first obtained, and then a prebendal stall in the church of St. Peter, Westminster, to which on the translation of Dr. Thurlow to the see of Durham in 1787, were added the bishopric of Lincoln, and the deanry of St. Paul's.

While his lordship was private secretary to the ex-minister, he was exposed to the attacks of several satyrists, none of which were so severe as those of the author of the work entitled "Probationary Odes for the vacant Laureatship." In them the doctor is handled most unmercifully, being represented as a man destitute of all regard for truth. This description we cannot reprobate too strongly, for the character of the bishop has ever been most irreproachable for integrity. There is likewise an urbanity in his manner, very different from the courtly stiffness of ministerial secretaries.

As a bishop he governs his diocese in a most exemplary manner, being vigilant, impartial, and compassionate. The inferior clergy have received abundant

dant and substantial instances of his attention and benevolence. The beneficed clergy have been called on and encouraged to residence. A minute inspection has been taken of the whole see; and, stimulated by their diocesan, the clergy have exerted themselves with effect in discountenancing vice and profaneness, in promoting charity-schools, and in counteracting what is termed the intrusive zeal of enthusiasts. This, however, has occasioned some clamour, and the cry of persecution has been raised, because the associated clergy of the diocese of Lincoln have reported the designs and progress of the sectaries, and their own endeavours to repress them. No prosecutions have been adopted, nor any attempt made, we believe, to arm the secular power against itinerants; but the clergy have taken upon them to watch their proceedings, to caution their own flocks against deceivers, to encourage them in an adherence to the church, and to advance all this the more effectually, they have resolved to labour with zeal in the discharge of their parochial duties. Thus that which once was alleged as a cause of the increase of methodism, the indolence of the established clergy, would now it seems be more acceptable to the partizans of that sect, than a diligent discharge of the clerical office.

The Bishop of Lincoln has published some single sermons preached on public occasions, the most remarkable of which is that delivered at St. Paul's before the King and both Houses of Parliament, in the year 1796, on the day of thanksgiving for the success of his Majesty's fleets. That discourse

is animated and even pathetic. There is a glow of devotion running through it which is calculated to warm the heart, and the style is simple and perspicuous. But as an author, Dr. Prettyman will derive credit chiefly from his Elements of Christian Theology, in two volumes 8vo. printed first in 1799. This work is professedly compiled for the use of students in divinity, but it is also well calculated for the benefit of private Christians and families. In the first volume is given a clear and well-arranged view of the books of the Old and New Testament, with the proofs of their divine authority.

It is observable, that though this work exhibits a strong vein of orthodoxy, yet the right reverend Author speaks unfavourably of the Athanasian Creed, not on account of the doctrine it contains, but for the damnatory clauses of that celebrated confession. The Bishop's elementary book has been keenly attacked by Mr. William Frend, in a series of letters to the author. Mr. Frend, however, it ought to be observed, treats his lordship with great respect, and passes many encomiums upon his learning, integrity, and piety.

The "Elements of Christian Theology" have been received with just approbation by the public, and we believe that the work is become a kind of textbook in one of our universities at least. An abridgment of it has also appeared in one volume duodecimo.

MRS. COWLEY.

THERE needed not the charming epic poem of "The Siege of Acre" to entitle the subject of this sketch to a distinguished station in the temple of Fame; neither did it require additional evidence to evince that proud pre-eminence which, in all the varieties of excellence produced by the pen, the pencil, or the lyre, the ladies of Great Britain have attained over their contemporaries in almost every other country in Europe.

Mrs. Cowley is the daughter of the late Mr. Parkhouse, of Tiverton in Devonshire, a gentleman universally respected and esteemed, and equally caressed for his learning and probity, as well as a peculiar flow of humour with which his conversation was enlivened*. In addition to these qualifications he possessed all that classical literature which entitled him to the reputation of being an excellent scholar. With such a parent, it will neither appear extraordinary that this lady should be enriched with those talents by which she is distinguished, nor that such talents should have been highly cultivated and improved. The cares of the father were not improperly bestowed; it was his paternal kindness that

* Mrs. Cowley's genius may be said in some respects to have been hereditary. Mr. Parkhouse's mother was a lady of Barnstaple, and first cousin to the poet Gay, with whom she was so great a favourite, that this celebrated bard passed much of his time at her house.

first awakened the lyre of the daughter's Muse, and the following dedication to the poem, entitled "The Maid of Arragon," deserves to be recorded as breathing at once the artless strains of filial gratitude and sensibility, and the warm effusions of youthful genius:

"Accept, dear parent! from a filial pen,
The humble offering of my pensive Muse;
She painted on my mind a daughter's woes,
Nor could my heart the tender theme refuse.

The rightful patron of th' eventful tale,
To you I dedicate the scenes I drew;
My soul she search'd to find Osmeda's thoughts,
And colour'd *her* from what I feel for *you*.

Yours then the meed—if meed kind Fame will grant;
The tale to you—to you the bays belong:
You gave my youthful fancy wings to soar,
From your indulgence flows my wild-note song.

Its music in your ear will sweetly sound;
Its page with fond delight you'll traverse o'er:
With half your pleasure may the world peruse!
My Muse, my vanity can ask no more.

Dear other parent! guiltless hold my heart,
Though unadorn'd my numbers with your name:
Your worth, your goodness, in its centre live,
And these shall perish only with my frame."

The fame of his daughter's mental excellence did indeed in his ears "sweetly sound:" it was the constant theme of his discourse, the joy and pride of his heart to the last hour of his life.

Mrs. Cowley's first dramatic *coup d'essai* was the comedy

comedy of "The Runaway:" this play, produced in March 1776, was the last new piece presented to the public by Mr. Garrick, who resigned the management of Drury-lane Theatre at the close of that season. It derived its origin from the following circumstance: Mrs. C. being present with some friends in a box at Dury-lane, during the first representation of a popular play*, inquired of one of her party, in the course of conversation, "what emolument the author was likely to derive from his piece?" The reply was, "About five hundred pounds."

Mrs. Cowley, who was struck with this remark, formed her resolution instantly, and without breathing a syllable of her intention even to her husband, sat down the next morning, and before dinner produced the first act of the "Runaway," almost *verbatim* as it now stands, and with bashfulness and fear presented it to Mr. C. in the course of the afternoon.

Mr. Cowley, as may well be supposed, perused this first effort with delight and astonishment, and on expressing his anxiety to see it brought to a conclusion, his wish was speedily accomplished, for the comedy was completely finished in a fortnight, and transmitted to Mr. Garrick, who then resided at Hampton Court.

No intimation having been given whence it came, and no inquiries having been made, either by the

* "The School for Wives."

lady or any of her friends, for the space of six months, the manager made frequent but ineffectual application to find out the writer in all the known dramatic walks, and his suspicion at last settled upon General Burgoyne. The curiosity of the modern Roscius was, however, at length satisfied; the fair author was discovered and introduced, and Mr. Garrick is said to have expressed no small degree of surprise that a mere boarding-school girl, for such was the appearance of the lady in question, should have produced a play to which his approbation had anticipated so favourable a reception from the public.

During this interview he expressed his intention to bring out this play, which was the last whose representation he superintended; it so happened, however, that about this time General Burgoyne had sent in his comedy of "The Maid of the Oaks," in conquence of which the manager intimated his regret that "The Runaway" must necessarily be postponed until the ensuing season.

It was not then the custom to produce half a dozen dramatic novelties in the space of a year. *One* good piece was looked upon as sufficient for one season. But it should be at the same time observed, that in those times of better taste and more sober humour, one real legitimate comedy was superior to a dozen of the flimsy productions of the present day, when the writer must sacrifice his genius, if he possesses any, to humour the grimace of the actor, and olios of song, dance, and spectacle, are hashed up for the public, in the representation of which the play-

playwright is borne to fame upon the shoulders of the fiddler, the taylor, and the machinist—ephemeral excrescences, in which it becomes difficult to decide whether the public who countenance, or the playmongers who compound, are the greater dupes.

"The Runaway" being at length brought forward, was received with such applause, that it was played for several nights in succession, and was the first that introduced the practice of what, in dramatic phraseology, is termed *Running Plays*. This comedy produced to the writer eight hundred guineas, "sufficient earnest of much greater honours."

Although the farce of "Who's the Dupe," performed at Drury-lane Theatre in April 1779, may have been the next of this lady's productions that made its appearance upon the stage, we have reason to suppose that the tragedy of "Albina," with respect to order of time, was Mrs. Cowley's second dramatic effort. This latter piece, however, was not brought out until the 30th of July following, when Mr. Colman introduced it at his summer theatre in the Haymarket.

Our fair author's next production was the "Belle's Stratagem," which was performed at Covent Garden in February 1780; this comedy was received with such loud and boundless applause, that it had the honour of being expressly patronized by the Queen, and was when published dedicated by permission to her majesty. Whilst this added another wreath to the brow of the author, it was at the same time not unproductive of pecuniary emolument. Her first comedy,

comedy, as has been observed, netted 800 guineas: her Belle's Stratagem cleared considerably more. To some Parnassus may have been a sterile promontory, whilst to others it has been literally a golden mountain; and if the advantages resulting from Mrs. Cowley's subsequent productions may be estimated by the two preceding pieces, the springs of Helicon have been to her as the streams of Pactolus. Perhaps it is only known to dramatic writers that after a piece has been read in the green room, various difficulties occur during the interval between the recital and representation; or, to speak more technically, in *getting up* a performance, with respect to dresses, modes of playing, &c. &c. the manager, author, and actors* have numerous obstacles to encounter, which, considering the variety of interests, intellects, and dispositions, are frequently productive of no small embarrassment. The trouble attending these, which occupied much more time perhaps than the mere composition of twenty pieces, was so fatiguing and disagreeable to Mrs. Cowley, that she has frequently determined never to write again. Fortunately, however, on these troubles ceasing to operate, they no longer impeded this lady from resuming her functions.

The "Belle's Stratagem" was followed immediately by "Which is the Man?" "A Bold Stroke for a Husband," "More Ways than One," &c. &c. In

* Under this term the *ladies of the theatre* are by no means intended to be excluded.

short,

short, the extreme facility of Mrs. C.'s pen is not less remarkable than the strength and variety of its powers; her productions, from that degree of sprightliness and ease by which they are characterised, wear the aspect of spontaneous effusions of fancy that all the laboured exertions of art would in vain attempt to execute.

> "———Ipse volens facilisque sequetur
> Si te fata vocant, aliter non viribus ullis
> Vincere, nex duro poteris convellere ferro."

In addition to that sprightliness of dialogue by which this lady's comedies are distinguished, her plots have an extensive variety, and all of them are abundant in new characters and situations. Equally at home in the sublime and pathetic as in the humorous, she enters at once into the feelings of a hero or a monarch with as much facility and success, as into those of a slopseller and a coquet. *Doiley* in the farce of "Who's the Dupe?" is perhaps unrivalled on the stage; *Gradus, Doricourt, Flutter, Lord Sparkle,* and the *Pendragons,* are all distinct and highly coloured portraits.

Her success in pourtraying female characters will perhaps appear less extraordinary, indeed she has in these evinced a superiority over all who have preceded her; and the justice due to Mrs. Cowley's merit in this line compels us to observe, that we know of but few dramatic writers who have evinced superior excellence to what may be discovered in *Miss Hardy* in the "Belle's Stratagem," and *Olivia* in the "Bold Stroke for a Husband."

In

In her more serious writings in tragedy and epic Poetry, it must be confessed, that amidst the most glowing imagery, and smooth and elegant numbers, we find considerable inequalities, which prove the fair author more intent upon picturing those images, which in the enthusiasm of genius crowded upon her mind, than in polishing what she has written: thus in her drama of "Albina," the same candour which leads us to applaud, here induces the observation, that while some passages abound with animated and impressive imagery, clothed in smooth and graceful numbers, others, which indeed from the contrast appear to greater disadvantage, are inharmonious and prosaic. In this Tragedy, however, the characters of *Old Westmoreland* and *Gondibert* are pourtrayed in the grandest stile, and display an intimate acquaintance with the age of chivalry.

The "Maid of Arragon," a Tale in blank verse, published about the same time as the "Belle's Stratagem," beautiful as it really is in other respects, is nevertheless liable to the same objections as the Tragedy of "Albina;" nevertheless, nothing can exceed the charms of the Poetry in many of the passages, whilst the characters have all the advantage of being drawn by a dramatic Muse. The *Old Arragonian King*, the *fair Osmida*, the *Moorish Prince*, the *French De Couci*, are so many distinct portraits coloured by the vivid pen of genius, and the whole of the story is at the same time original and admirably conducted.

The

The following is a list of the regular Works of this lady, exclusive of several fugitive pieces, many of which are anonymous.

COMEDIES.—The Runaway, Belle's Stratagem, Which is the Man? Bold Stroke for a Husband. More Ways than One. A Day in Turkey. Both Ends of the Town. Second Thoughts are Best.

TRAGEDIES.—Albina. Fate of Sparta.

Who's the Dupe? A Farce.

EPIC POEMS.—Maid of Arragon. Scottish Village. Siege of Acre.

Among several other beautiful pieces of fugitive poetry, such as Mrs. C.'s specimens in imitation of Cowley, Monologue on the Death of Chatterton, &c. we cannot but notice, because, being dispersed amongst other publications, they may not have met the eye of general readers; some charming lines which have appeared in a volume of elegant poems, published by Lady Manners; and also a poem entitled "Edwina," presented to the editors of a late History of Cumberland, founded upon an event which occurred in that county.

The following are the verses occasioned by Lady Manners's "Ode to Solitude!" written in the same measure and number of lines with the Ode itself.

"All that polish'd Thought adores,
"Creative Muses ever bring;
"Grant to her, your choicest stores,
"Her, that can so sweetly sing.

"Pour before her vision'd eye,
"Scenes which you alone can give;
"Bid all earth-born troubles fly,
"Bid your fascinations live.

"Rouse

"Rouse for her the slumb'ring notes,
"Which the forest lately heard;
"Touch the waken'd warblers throats;
"Tune anew each sprightly bird.

"Not the moping nightingale
"Wake to join its pensive moan—
"For its softest, tenderest tale,
"MANNERS gives in sweeter tone.

"Spread around her softest shades,
"Where the mountain low'rs from high,
"When the glossy day stream fades,
"Place *your* lustres in the sky.

"Tip for her each starry gleam,
"With a splendour not its own;
"Bidding your effulgence beam,
"On the night's dim opal throne.

"Lead her where the distant sea,
"Clinging to its rocky shores,
"Slow, unwilling seems to flee,
"And in sorrow ceaseless roars.

"Solitude! call forth thy smiles,
"On thy cheek let roses grow,
"She whose glance all care beguiles,
"Bids thy charms immortal glow.

"MANNERS! strikes to thee her lyre,
"Decks anew thy thoughtful mien,
"Sings thee with poetic fire,
"Bloom then grateful to her strain."

This little poetic wild flower produced an intimate acquaintance between the two ladies; and, indeed, Mrs. Cowley has ever been distinguished for doing honour to female genius; for Mrs. *Barbauld*, Miss *Burney*

Burney, and Miss *Seward*, shine most conspicuously in this lady's poem of the SCOTTISH VILLAGE.

The other poem, which is of a local nature, and therefore may not often meet the public eye, abounds with passages descriptive and poetical; its numbers, which are charmingly harmonious, would not have disgraced an Ovid or a Hammond. This, from its nature, will not admit of many selections; but the following eulogy on the sacred rites of Marriage, written at the period when a neighbouring nation was supposed to have dissolved this bond of well-regulated society, has such peculiar beauty, that we should not discharge our duty were we to omit it here.

"O MARRIAGE! powerful charm, gift all divine,
Sent from the skies, o'er life's sad waste to shine;
What splendours from thy bright tiara spring,
What graces to thy sober footsteps cling
Vengeance will surely blast the idiot land,
Which drags the sceptre from thy hallow'd hand,
Which dares to trample on thy hallow'd rites,
And nuptial perfidy unaw'd invites.
"The weeping world to thee its solace owes,
From thee derives its truest, best repose;
—Not the cold compact subtle interest twines,
Not that which pale submission trembling signs
Is MARRIAGE!—No!—'tis when its polish'd chain
Binds those who in each other's bosom reign,
'Tis, where two minds form one ecstatic whole,
One sweetly blended wish, one sense, one soul:
This was the gift the exil'd Seraph curst,
When from Hell's blazing continent he burst;
Eden's fair charms he saw without a groan,
Though *Nature* there had fix'd her gorgeous throne;

Its

Its rich ananas, and its aloes high,
Whose forms pyramidal approach the sky,
Its tow'ring pines with luscious clusters crown'd,
Its skies whose perfume fill'd the region round;*
Its streams diaphanous, its bow'rs of shade,
Its flow'rs that knew to bloom, but not to fade;
Its orb which nurs'd the new created day,
Its bow which joy'd the night with tender ray;
Its fields of wavy gold, its slopes of green,
By the fell fiend without a pang were seen:
'Twas then, fierce rancour seiz'd the demon's breast,
When in the MARRIED PAIR he felt mankind were blest."

Mrs. Cowley was married at an early period to a gentleman who was afterwards a Captain in the East India Company's service, and died recently abroad; he possessed considerable mental acquirements, and was brother to Mr. Cowley, an eminent corn-factor in Cateaton Street. She has a son now at the bar, and one daughter who is married in the East Indies.*

In the different characters of daughter, wife, and mother, the conduct of our fair author has been most exemplary. In person she is rather under the middle

* This young Lady, who was sent for by her father to India, is the wife of a man of exalted character—the Reverend D. Brown, educated at Oxford; and who has had the honour of being chosen PROVOST of the magnificent College lately erected at Calcutta. He derived this distinction from the friendship of the Governor-General, Marquis Wellesley, and the high opinion of the council, without either solicitation or personal application. This College is on a grand scale, with Professorships in Divinity, Law, and Oriental Literature. The Library of Tippoo Saib and his rich Museum, chiefly collected by his father, Hyder Ally, the Asiatic Augustus, are already placed there.

size,

size, but her countenance is animated and expressive. There is nothing about her that indicates the writer; her manners are lively and unassuming; and the most incontrovertible proof that they are pleasing, is the estimation in which she is held by all who have the happiness of her acquaintance.

Celebrated as Mrs. Cowley is, as an author, the general tenor of her life has been by no means *theatrical*; at the Play-houses she is very seldom seen; and her life has been so strictly domestic, that whilst this propensity has prevented her from having any intercourse with the Theatres, beyond what was necessary for the production of her Plays: it has also prevented the accumulation of materials for a more busy biography; perhaps, however, the very circumstance of want of incident is the highest praise; for to be public as a GENIUS, and private as a WOMAN, is to wear laurels gracefully veiled.

JAMES BEATTIE, L.L.D.

Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in the Marischal College, or University of New Aberdeen; and Member of the Zealand Society of Arts and Sciences, &c. &c.

THE pretensions attendant upon birth, are generally admitted with reluctance; for as this species of merit is at most but equivocal, and in some measure detracts from the consequence of the rest of mankind, it is often submitted to with indignation, and when allowed at all, allowed with repugnance. The claims

 of

of wealth are at least equally suspicious, and we yield to them with a still worse grace: riches are often the patrimony or the acquisition of the basest of men, and so far from being an infallible sign of merit, they are not unfrequently either the inheritance or the produce of crime. It is far otherwise with genius: swollen wealth, adventitious descent, fictitious distinctions, are often contemptible, because they are generally the result of accident, but the "heaven-taught soul," he whose mind is impressed with the seal of the Divinity, belongs to a higher order of beings, and experiences the voluntary respect of all whose minds are not replete with malice, or cankered with envy, or soured by the workings of an unsocial jealousy. These sentiments will be felt and acknowledged by those who possess any degree of intrinsic merit, and must be allowed to be peculiarly appropriate, when applied to the subject of the present memoir.

James Beattie is a native of Scotland, and was born some degrees to the north of "the hot-bed* of genius," being a native of Kincardineshire. His father appertained to that class of men who are scarcely on a level with our English peasantry, but he was actuated by a liberal and generous spirit peculiar to the little farmers of his native country, for he aspired and actually contrived to obtain an excellent education for his son. The parochial schools in North Britain are most excellent seminaries for this purpose, and

* Edinburgh.

the

the five universities* spread over the face of the country, contribute in an admirable manner to instil a tincture of learning, philosophy, and science in the youth destined to attend their various classes.

After the requisite preliminary acquisitions in his own neighbourhood, young Beattie repaired to New Aberdeen, and went through a regular course of study in that university, in which he was destined to be a professor. It is common for such young men as are not distinguished by the gifts of fortune to become *Bursars*,† an idea of which is in some measure conveyed by the expression of *being put on the foundation* in our English universities. To the honour of the Scotch ones, no opprobrious distinction—no menial office—no degrading servitude is annexed to the term, which merely implies the receipt of a revenue. On the contrary, it is a proof of su-

* 1st. Edinburgh.
2nd. Glasgow.
3rd. St. Andrew's.
4th. New Aberdeen, or Marischal College. And,
5th. Old Aberdeen, or King's College.

It was lately proposed to remove the last of these Institutions to Inverness, and so far as *position* ought to be consulted, the improvement must be obvious.—*Editor*.

† The Scotch formerly imitated the French in their colleges, as well as in all the other departments of civil life. The word bursar is evidently derived from *bourse* a purse, being a sum of money presented to a meritorious student, to enable him to proceed in his career. There were a certain number of *bursars* in the college of Paris, previously to the revolution, and the *bourse de college* in conformity to this idea has always been defined "*un pension fondée pour l'entretènement d'un pauvre écolier durant ses études.*"

perior merit, for instead of being a sinecure into which a student is inducted without formality, it becomes the *premium* of a victorious contest, and the just reward bestowed on the victor after a competition, in which classical excellence alone carries away the palm:

"*Non sine pulvere palmæ.*"

It is not unusual for many of the students to attend the various college classes, during a certain number of months, when they support themselves on the *bourse* of from four or five to nine or ten pounds *per annum*, and to superintend a parochial school during the remainder of the year; and there is some reason to believe that this was the case with Mr. Beattie. Certain it is, that he acted in the capacity of a schoolmaster during a considerable portion of the earlier part of his life, first at Alloa in Fifeshire, and afterwards in Kincardineshire. At length an opportunity presented itself of removing to Aberdeen, the third town in Scotland in point of trade, extent, and consequence. There he acted for some time in the humble situation of an usher, to the *grammar* or principal Latin school; and having married the daughter of the master, he perhaps aspired to nothing more than becoming successor to his own father-in-law.

An event however occurred that soon taught him higher hopes, and afforded superior expectations. Mr. Beattie, who had long cultivated a taste for poetry, about this period applied himself with unremitting ardour to give a polish to his verses, that should entitle them to meet the public eye, and he soon realised the most sanguine wishes of his friends in this respect.

His

His first publication was a volume of "Original Poems and Translations," which appeared so early as 1760; some of these after being purified and refined from their juvenile dross, have been since preserved in a new edition of the author's poetry.

In 1765 appeared his "Judgment of Paris," and in 1767 he became known to Gray, and is said to have consulted him relative to the "Minstrel," chiefly written in 1768, although part of it had been produced during the inspiration of his earlier years. We shall give some account of this work here, although it did not make its appearance until some time after.

The author's object in the poem will be best gathered from the preface:

"The design was," says he "to trace the progress of a poetical genius born in a rude age, from the first dawning of fancy and reason, till that period at which he may be supposed capable of appearing in the world as a MINSTREL, that is, as an itinerant poet and musician—a character which according to the notions of our forefathers, was not only respectable, but sacred.

"I have endeavoured to imitate SPENSER," adds he "in the measure of his verse, and in the harmony, simplicity, and variety of his composition. Antique expressions I have avoided; admitting, however, some old words where they seemed to suit the subject: but I hope none will be found that are now obsolete, or in any degree not intelligible to a reader of English poetry.

"To those who may be disposed to ask what could induce me to write in so difficult a measure, I can only answer, that it pleases my ear, and seems from its Gothic structure and original to bear some relation to the subject and spirit of the poem. It admits both simplicity and magnificence of sound and of language beyond any other stanza that I am acquainted with. It allows the sententiousness of the couplet, as well as the more complex mo-

dulation of blank verse. What some critics have remarked of its uniformity growing at last tiresome to the ear, will be found to hold true, only when the poetry is faulty in other respects."

The introductory lines to this poem have been greatly admired :

I.

" Ah! who can tell how hard it is to climb
The steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar ;
Ah! who can tell how many a soul sublime
Has felt the influence of malignant star,
And wag'd with Fortune an eternal war ;
Check'd by the scoff of Pride, by Envy's frown,
And Poverty's unconquerable bar,
In life's low vale remote has pined alone,
Then dropt into the grave, unpitied and unknown!"

After mentioning the parents who lived in innocent simplicity, and of whom we are told, that

" Beyond the lowly vale of shepherd life
They never roam'd————————————"

he makes us acquainted with the " Minstrel" himself, while yet an infant :

XV.

" The wight whose tale these artless lines unfold,
Was all the offspring of this humble pair.
His birth no oracle or seer foretold :
No prodigy appear'd in earth or air,
Nor aught that might a strange event declare.
You guess each circumstance of EDWIN's birth,
The parent's transport, and the parent's care ;
The gossip's prayer for wealth, and wit, and worth,
And one long summer-day of indolence and mirth.

XVI.

" And yet poor Edwin was no vulgar boy ;
Deep thought oft seem'd to fix his infant eye.
Dainties he heeded not, nor gaude, nor toy,
Save one short pipe of rudest minstrelsy.

Silent

Silent when glad; affectionate, though shy;
  And now his look was most demurely sad,
And now he laugh'd aloud, yet none knew why.
  The neighbours star'd and sigh'd, yet bless'd the lad:
Some deem'd him wond'rous wise, and some believ'd him mad."

XVII.

" But why should I his childish feats display?
  Concourse, and noise, and toil, he ever fled;
Nor car'd to mingle in the clamorous fray
  Of squabbling imps, but to the forest sped,
Or roam'd at large the lonely mountain's head;
  Or, where the maze of some bewilder'd stream
To deep untrodden groves his footsteps led,
  There would he wander wild 'till Phœbus beam,
  Shot from the western cliff, released the weary team."

XVIII.

" Th' exploit of strength, dexterity, or speed,
  To him nor vanity nor joy could bring.
His heart from cruel sport estranged, would bleed
  To work the woe of any living thing,
By trap or net; by arrow or by sling;
  These he detested, those he scorn'd to wield:
He wish'd to be the guardian, not the king,
  Tyrant far less, or traitor of the field.
  And sure the sylvan reign unbloody joy might yield."

We now find the youthful *Edwin* inspired by the Muses:

LVII.

" For Edwin Fate a nobler doom had plann'd;
  Song was his favourite and first pursuit,
The wild harp rang to his adventurous hand,
  And languish'd to his breath the plaintive flute.
  His infant muse, though artless, was not mute:
Of elegance as yet he took no care,
  For this of time and culture is the fruit;
And Edwin gain'd at last this fruit so rare:
  As in some future verse I purpose to declare."

LVIII.

LVIII.

"Meanwhile, whate'er of beautiful or new,
 Sublime or dreadful, in earth, sea, or sky,
By chance or search, was offer'd to his view,
 He scan'd with curious and romantic eye.
Whate'er of lore tradition could supply
 From Gothic tale, or song, or fable old,
Roused him, still keen to listen and to pry.
 At last though long by penury control'd,
 And solitude, his soul her graces 'gan unfold."

In 1770 the public deemed itself highly favoured by a work* we shall recur to hereafter, and which we only notice in this place to observe, that Mr. Gray's last letter to the author contained a high eulogium on that performance:

"I am happy," says he "to hear of your success, because I think you are serving the cause of human nature, and the true interests of mankind; your book is read here too (in England) with just applause."† In

* "An essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism."

† So far moderate men may approve what Mr. Gray says, but when he turns from Hume's tenets to his genius, and proclaims him "shallow," and an "infant," we are bound rather to respect the piety than the liberality of the poet:

"I have often thought David Hume" says he, "a pernicious writer, and believe he has done as much mischief here as he has done in his own country: a *turbid and shallow stream* often appears to our apprehensions very deep. A professed sceptic can be guided by nothing but his present passions (if he has any) and interests; and to be masters of his philosophy, we need not his books or advice, for every *child* is capable of the same thing without any study at all. Is not that *naiveté* and good humour which his admirers celebrate

In 1771 appeared part of a work which we have already noticed, viz. Book I. of "the Minstrel; or the progress of Genius," in 4to. and in 1774, Book II. was published.* The whole has since been reprinted several times, and in a variety of sizes.

In

celebrate in him owing to this, that he has continued all his days an *infant*, but one that unhappily has been taught to read and write. That childish nation the French have given him vogue and fashion; we, as usual, have learned from them to admire him at second hand."

* It was about this time that many of the most distinguished of his own countrymen began to cultivate a friendship with, and pay respect to the talents of Mr. Beattie. We accordingly find that several of them addressed their poetical effusions to him, and we the more readily insert the following verses, written by Dr. Geddes, no less celebrated for his profound learning, than his playful genius, as we hope to be able to publish a memoir respecting himself in our next volume:

THE GRUMBLERS."

FROM A SATIRE OF HORACE.—BY MR. GEDDES.

Whence is it, Beattie, that we find
Scarce one of all the human kind,
Content with that particular lot
Which choice procur'd, or chance begot;
Each dreaming still, if he possess'd
His neighbour's place, he should be bless'd?
"Happy the man," the soldier says,
"Worn out with toils, and broke with days,
"Who snug behind his compter lies,
"And sees his thousands round him rise!"
"More happy soldier!" cries again
The trader, trembling on the main,
"He marches—fights—and, in a breath,
"'Tis victory—or a glorious death:

"While

In the mean time the merits of Mr. B. began to attract public notice. But something better than barren admiration was produced, for the Earl of Errol,* who lived at Slains Castle, in the vicinity of Aberdeen,

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" While I must live in constant fear,
" And shrink at every blast I hear."
 The Country Squire, whom knotty cause
To London and the Chancery draws,
Oblig'd from earliest morn to wait,
Till twelve o'clock, at lawyer's gate;
Exclaims, with many a peevish frown—
" How lucky those who live in town!"
 The Lawyer, stunn'd with dire debate,
Would just as gladly rusticate;
And talks, in the most rapt'rous strains,
Of rural seats, and verdant plains.
 The Doctor---but the plaints of all,
Not Luttrell, in St. Stephen's Hall,
Were able fully to describe,
So numerous is the grumbling tribe!
 But should some God (the gods, with ease,
Can do whate'er their godships please)
Proclaim---" 'Tis granted---Henceforth, be
" A Merchant thou, a Soldier he;
" A Lawyer this, and that a Squire;
" Each have his relative desire---
" Why stand ye mute? 'Tis given to chuse
" Your envied lots." All, all refuse.
 Sure Jove might burn, with holy ire,
To see them sneakingly retire;
And, in his well-tim'd fury, swear---
He'd never more indulge their prayer.

* This is supposed to have been the handsome and magnificent Earl of Errol, who ruined his fortune in one single day: that on which his present Majesty was crowned, when he appeared in the

Aberdeen, fortunately was induced to patronize Mr. Beattie, while yet a young man. This nobleman accordingly

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the procession in the character of Hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland. His robes, which the writer of this article has seen, are all that remain to his family of the large estates, said to have been spent in that *gala*.

Dr. Beattie named his eldest son after this nobleman. "He was baptised James Hay, by permission of JAMES HAY, EARL OF ERROL, who had patronised me," says he, "at an early period of my life, and ever after honoured me with his friendship: a nobleman who, to a competent knowledge of classical learning, and other accomplishments becoming his rank, joined uncommon elegance, dignity, and affability of manners; with benevolence unbounded; an exemplary regard to the institutions of religion; and a spirit of true patriotism, whereof those parts of his country with which he was connected do still feel, and it is hoped will long feel the salutary influence."

When Lord Hay, afterwards Earl of Errol, was born, Dr. Beattie wrote a Birth-Day Ode, of which we shall here present the reader with a specimen:—

"A Muse unskill'd in venal praise,
Unstain'd with flattery's art;
Who loves simplicity of lays
Breathed ardent from the heart.

While gratitude and joy inspire,
Resumes the long-unpractised lyre,
To hail, O H**, thy natal morn:
No gaudy wreathe of flowers she weaves,
But twines with oak the laurel leaves,
Thy cradle to adorn.

For not on beds of gaudy flowers
Thine ancestors reclin'd,
Where sloth dissolves, and spleen devours
All energy of mind.

To

cordingly exerted his influence with such zeal and success, that the assistant at their grammar-school was elected by the magistrates of New Aberdeen, to the

---

To hurl the dart, to ride the car,
To stem the deluges of war,
And snatch from fate a sinking land;
Trample th' Invader's lofty crest,
And from his grasp the dagger wrest,
And desolating brand.

'Twas this, that rais'd th' illustrious line
To match the first in fame!
A thousand years have seen it shine
With unabated flame.

Have seen thy mighty Sires appear
Foremost in glory's high career,
The pride and pattern of the brave;
Yet pure from lust of blood their fire,
And from Ambition's wild desire,
They triumph'd but to save.

The Muse with joy attends their way,
The vale of peace along;
There to its Lord the village gay,
Renews the grateful song.

Yon Castle's glittering lowers contain,
No pit of woe, nor clanking chain,
Nor to the suppliant's wail resound;
The open doors the needy bless,
Th' unfriended hail their calm recess,
And gladness smiles around.

O yet, ere pleasure plant her snare,
For unsuspecting youth;
Ere flattery her song prepare,
To check the voice of truth;

O may

the honourable and distinguished office of a Professor in their University.

An event occurred soon after, that obtained for our poet a still more distinguished patronage and support. Mr. Hume was at this period considered by his countrymen, as not only occupying an eminent station in the Republick of Letters, but also of being in possession of the chair of criticism, to which he had been in some measure elevated by the voluntary suffrages of the nation. To such an authority it was natural for a young man to look up for countenance and protection, and Mr. B. is accordingly said to have submitted his productions to his inspection, with all that *deference*, but at the same time, with all that *hope* incident to one in his situation. The verdict of the Historian was not however so favourable as the Poet had perhaps a right to expect; and this little occurrence is asserted in a contemporary publication, to have led to the "Essay on the Immutability of Truth in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism:"* but we have good reason to think that this statement is incorrect. That work, however, whatever were the motives in which it originated, which we firmly believe to have been of the

O may his Country's guardian power,
Attend the slumbering Infant's bower,
And bright inspiring dreams impart;
To rouse th' hereditary fire,
To kindle each sublime desire,
Exalt and warm the heart."

* In 1777, this work was re-published by subscription, in a quarto size.

purest

purest kind, possesses conspicuous merit. The author certainly had Dr. Reid in his eye, and followed the model presented by that very able Professor; what is not a little remarkable too, the scholar on this occasion acquired a more brilliant fame than the master.

This publication obtained for Mr. Beattie much fame, a small pension, and a large portion of friends; among whom are to be reckoned Dr. Gregory of Edinburgh, the Earl of Mansfield, Mrs. Montague, Dr. Johnson, Lord Lyttleton, and Doctors Hurd and Porteus, the Bishops of Worcester and London.

Some of the zealots of the English establishment are now said to have expressed a wish that Mr. Beattie should be *converted from the Church of Scotland*, in order that from the "vantage ground" of a Brishoprick, he might either terrify scepticks with his crozier, or over-awe them with his mitred eloquence. But it was observed by sensible and dispassionate men, that he could be of infinitely more service to the cause of Christianity, in the character of a simple layman, than whilst adorned with the *lawn sleeves*, as the apologies of churchmen for tenets of any kind, always bore an interested aspect, while the support of those who were not themselves *supported* by the very establishment they patronised, appeared far more dignified and independent.

It would have been unjust, however, that his efforts should have been wholly unrewarded, and we accordingly find that Lord Mansfield, then Chief Justice of the King's Bench, recommended him to his Majesty

Majesty for a gratuity of 200l. *per annum*, from the privy purse; and to make use of the language of that day, "it was understood, that thus *pensioned*, he should lie on the watch and confute every sceptical and profane opinion, that should, after all that he had written, dare to start up in the world."

Having obtained fame and independence in his native country, Mr. Beattie was now desirous to visit London, and converse with the celebrated men of letters in the English capital. Being acquainted with Mr. Boswell, he applied to that gentleman in 1771, in his way to London, and obtained the following letter, which served as an introduction to the celebrated Lexicographer.

"TO DR. JOHNSON,

"MY DEAR SIR, *Edinburgh, July 27th*, 1771.

"The bearer of this, Mr. Beattie, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen, is desirous of being introduced to your acquaintance. His genius, and learning, and labours in the service of virtue and religion, render him very worthy of it; and as he has a high esteem of your character, I hope you will give him a favourable reception.

I ever am, &c.

JAMES BOSWELL."

In consequence of this very flattering introduction, Mr. Beattie waited on Dr. Johnson soon after his arrival in London, presented his friend's letter to him, and was received in a manner that left him no room to complain. Not content with this first instance of politeness, the Doctor introduced Mr. Beattie to many of his friends, Mrs. Thrale in particular, and ever after spoke of him in such a man-

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ner as to testify his esteem.* That this esteem was mutual, will appear from the following passage extracted from a letter written by Mr. Boswell to Dr. Johnson, and dated, "Edinburgh, Dec. 25, 1772."

"I communicated to Beattie what you said of his book. In his last letter to me, he writes to me thus:—

"You judge very rightly in thinking that Dr. Johnson's favourable opinion of my book must give me great delight. Indeed it is impossible for me to say how much I am gratified with it; for there is not a man upon earth whose good opinion I would be more ambitious to cultivate. His talents and his virtues I reverence more than any words can express. The extraordinary civilities, (the paternal attentions I should rather say,) and the many instructions I have had the honour to receive from him, will to me be a perpetual source of pleasure in the recollection.

"Dum memor ipse mei dum spiritus reget artus."

The subject of the present memoir, who about this time had obtained a diploma from the Marischal College, as LL. D. visited London once more, in 1773, and on this occasion, we believe, brought his wife along with him. A long interval of five years elapsed, however, before he returned thither again, which circumstance was kindly remembered by Dr. Johnson, in a letter addressed to him at Aberdeen, of which the following is an extract:—

"To

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* "I thanked him (Dr. Johnson) for shewing civilities to Beattie."

"Sir, (said he) I should thank *you* (Boswell); we all love Beattie. Mrs. Thrale says, if ever she has another husband, she'll have Beattie. He sunk upon us that he was married; else we should have shewn his lady more civilities. She is a very fine woman. But how can you shew civilities to a non-entity?"

Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i. p. 354.

"TO DR. BEATTIE.

"SIR,

"More years than I have any delight to reckon, have past since you and I saw one another; of this, however, there is no reason for making any reprehensory complaint, *sic fata ferunt*. But methinks there might pass some small interchange of regard between us. If you say, that I ought to have written, I now write, and I write to tell you, that I have much kindness for you and Mrs. Beattie; and that I wish your health better, and your life long.

"Try change of air, and come a few degrees southward; a softer climate may do you both good; winter is coming on; and London will be warmer, and gayer, and busier, and more fertile of amusement than Aberdeen.

"My health is better, but that will be little in the balance, when I tell you that Mrs. Montagu has been very ill, and is I doubt now but weakly,* &c. &c.

Your most humble Servant.

SAM. JOHNSON."

In 1783, Dr. Beattie presented the world with "Dissertations Moral and Critical," in one volume quarto. The subjects treated of in this work, originally formed a course of prelections "which were "read to those young gentlemen whom it was the author's business to initiate in the elements of moral science." In the Essay *on Memory and Imagination*, he first gives a general account of memory, and then examines the question, whether it be connected with the brain? This he decides in the negative. While recapitulating the laws of memory, he deduces a variety of useful maxims, but differs with Hume in every thing, and on every occasion, which is neither just nor philosophical, as it must be allowed by the

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 821.

most bigotted and prejudiced, that the great man to whom we allude, possessed an uncommon share of talent and discrimination, although he unfortunately could not extend his belief quite so far as many worthy persons among his countrymen.

In the Dissertation on *Imagination*, Dr. Beattie enquires into the principles of the association of ideas, heretofore so ably laid down by Locke. Mr. Hume enumerates the three following, viz.

1. Similitude or dissimilitude;
2. Causation; and
3. Contiguity of time or place.

Our author not content with this distribution, enlarges these into five:

1. Resemblance;
2. Contrariety;
3. Nearness of situation;
4. The relation of cause and effect; and
5. Custom.

His remarks on the origin of our ideas of beauty, genius and taste, must be allowed to possess an uncommon share of acuteness.

It may be perhaps superfluous at this enlightened period, to shew the folly of belief in *dreams*: this however is the avowed object of the third Dissertation.

The fourth, which is divided into two parts, relates to the *Theory of Language*.*

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* In 1788, he republished an enlarged and corrected edition of this Essay.

Part I. treats of the Origin and general Nature of Speech; and

Part II. of Universal Grammar.

Having asserted Speech to be a gift derived directly from the Divinity, he then examines into the nature of the human voice, the power of articulation, the division of alphabetical writing into vowels and consonants; the attainments of pronunciation, orthography, emphasis, and accent; and he is necessarily copious on the admirable arts of writing and of printing.

After this, he enters into a wide field of literary discussion, and examines the origin, the progress, and the use of *Fable* and *Romance*. He gives an interesting dissertation on the character of the nations who introduced the feudal government and manners, and then expatiates on the *crusades*, *chivalry* and rise of *modern literature*, and *modern knight-errantry*, the *old* and *the new species of Romance*. On this occasion, he perhaps displays too much partiality for his friend, Lord Lyttleton, whom he terms "the great historian;" and in conformity to the opinion of that nobleman, maintains that Henry Fielding possessed more wit and humour than any other man in modern times, Shakespeare alone excepted.

He also enters at great length into the subject of *natural attachment to kindred*; and he treats the subject of *sublimity of composition* in a manner highly creditable to his taste.

In 1786, at the recommendation of the present

Bishop of London, Dr. Beattie published "Evidences of the Christian Religion," in two volumes, octavo.

Thus the life of our author hath been a laborious one; for what with cultivating the *Belles-Lettres*, attending to the instruction of his class in moral philosophy, composing, preparing for, and correcting the press, but little of his time can have been devoted to the pleasures of society. He was cheerful, however, and at times unbent his mind in the company of his old friends, until about ten years since, when a melancholy event occurred that cast a gloom around him, and proved too fraught with affliction, notwithstanding his singular piety, to be borne without the extremity of human misery.

For many years his eldest son, at once his companion and his friend, had contributed not a little to cheer his mind, and promised to become the delight of his declining age. This stay, this prop as it were of all his comforts and all his hopes on earth, was snatched away from him on the 19th of November 1790, when he had attained the age of twenty-two, and displayed on one hand such a virtuous disposition as the fondest father might have been proud to behold, while on the other his genius and talents began to develope, and afford an early promise of future excellence.

As the life of the son is intimately connected with the feelings, the happiness, and the history of the father, we shall here give a short account of this interesting young man. James Hay Beattie was born in Aberdeen, November 6, 1768. His mildness and docility

docility were such, that the Doctor had never occasion to reprove him above three or four times: bodily chastisement he never experienced at all. The first rules of morality taught him by this affectionate parent were, " to speak truth and keep a secret; and I never found," says he, " that in a single instance he transgressed either. The doctrines of religion I wished to impress on his mind, as soon as it might be prepared to receive them; but I did not see," adds Dr. B. " the propriety of making him commit to memory theological sentences, or any sentence which it was not possible for him to understand: and I was desirous to make a trial how far his own reason could go in tracing out, with a little direction, the great and first principle of all religion, the being of a God."

When he attained his fifth or sixth year, and had as yet received no particular information with respect to the Author of his being, his father recurred to an ingenious device for this purpose. In a corner of a little garden, without informing any person of the circumstance, he wrote in the mould with his finger the three initials of his son's name, and sowing cresses in the furrows, covered up the seed and smoothed the ground. On discovering " his name growing in the garden" the child was astonished, and on being told it might be accidental, he denied that such a circumstance could be the effect of chance. On this the Doctor, alluding to his own person, and teaching him to reason from analogy, found that he already comprehended, *that what be-*

gins to be must have a cause, and what is formed with regularity must have an intelligent cause. "I therefore told him," says he, "the name of the Great Being who made him and all the world; concerning whose adorable nature I gave him such information as I thought he could in some measure comprehend. The lesson affected him greatly, and he never forgot either it or the circumstance that introduced it."

His father and mother taught him to write, and they appear to have been studious to prevent a provincial accent: when he had attained his seventh year, he attended the grammar-school of Aberdeen; where he acquired the elements of the Latin tongue; he also studied Ovid and Virgil at home, under the inspection of his father. About the same time he was accustomed to, and arrived at, considerable proficiency in drawing, and "in ludicrous *caricatura* he had boundless invention." His constitution being delicate, and finding him inclined rather too much to study, his provident father, as soon as he could handle a small musket, put him under the tuition of a sergeant, who taught him the military exercise. An expert fencing-master was next employed, and archery, and in short every thing recurred to, that might add to his muscular strength and personal dexterity.

At the age of thirteen he was entered a student of the Marischal College, and he attended the various classes no less than five years, a year more than is usually thought necessary at that university to qualify

qualify for the degree of A. M. which he obtained in 1786.

About this time he applied himself in order to obtain a knowledge of the Linnæan system; he also studied theology under Drs. Campbell and Gerard: "but this was not," we are told, "the commencement of his theological pursuits; for from his early youth he had studied the holy scriptures, which he justly thought to contain the only infallible system of Christian faith. When he went from home, if he meant to be absent a few weeks or days, he took with him a pocket Bible and the Greek New Testament."

To a young man so qualified, and educated in a great measure within its own walls, the university of Aberdeen was of course eager to exhibit some mark of its regard, and the professors accordingly recommended him to his Majesty as a proper person to be appointed Assistant Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic to his own father, which was accordingly done when he was not quite nineteen.

He now devoted himself to those studies most appropriate to his new situation, and read the best writers on the abstract philosophy, particularly Dr. Reid, Dr. Campbell, Bishop Butler, Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Baxter; and such was his progress, that he appears to have fully comprehended Baxter, Butler, and Clarke's demonstration, *à priori,* of the divine existence.

He now applied to music, and learned to perform upon the organ and violin, studying at the same time

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the theory of the art in the works of Pasquali and Holden; and that he might see the theory exemplified, he perused the compositions of Handel, Corelli, Geminiani, Avison, and Jackson, the musical authors who stood the highest in his esteem. "The music just now in vogue had no charms for him," observes his father: "he said it wanted simplicity, pathos, and harmony; and in the execution depended so much on rapidity of finger, or what may be called slight of hand, that practitioners must throw away more time than he could spare before they could acquire any dexterity in it. He was delighted with the sweet and classical correctness of Corelli, and with the affecting melodies of Jackson, so well adapted to the words that accompany them; but the variety and sublimity of Handel's invention filled him with rapture and astonishment. He thought him the Shakspeare of music, or rather the Shakspeare and Milton united; and many of his simpler songs he could sing very agreeably, enforcing their expression with a through bass on the organ.

"He was pleased too with some of the ancient Scotch and Welch airs, but made no account of the quick jigging Scotch tunes, though he did not think them all equally bad. He had studied *counterpoint*, and was profoundly skilled in it; I find among his papers a great deal written on that subject; and I have seen fugues of his contrivance which would not have discredited a more experienced musician."

In the mean time Mr. Beattie cultivated a taste for poetry, after his father was satisfied that he possessed

a poetical

a poetical genius. But in the midst of his career this promising youth began to be afflicted with disease, and, notwithstanding the counteracting power of the manly exercises, to which his father very prudently had accustomed him, his constitution seems to have been weakly during the whole period of his short life.

Observing, in 1788, that his health had suffered from the fatigues of the preceding winter, his parent sent him to pass the summer at Peterhead, and as he had a genius for mechanics, and was master of the theory of organ-building, with Dr. Laing's assistance he contrived to build an organ for himself.

Some weeks before the commencement of his last illness he obtained his father's approbation to his studying medicine, not for the purpose of appearing in the world as a physician, or of accepting money for his prescriptions, but because he was anxious of relieving the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, and "would fain be useful occasionally to his friends, and the poor especially."

At length, during the night of the 30th of November 1789, he was suddenly seized with a fever, which threatened his immediate dissolution, and, although he lived a year longer, he was never afterwards able to engage in any serious study. His disease, which was termed a *nervous atrophy*, daily assuming a more fatal appearance, he at length finished his mortal career, without a groan or even a sigh, November 19, 1790. The following is the inscription placed by a sorrowing father on his tomb,

in

in which he recapitulates the virtues and the talents of the most dutiful of sons:

JACOBO. HAY. BEATTIE. JACOBI. F.
PHILOS. IN. ACAD. MARISCHAL. PROFESSORI.
ADOLESCENTI.
EA. MODESTIA.
EA. SUAVITATE. MORUM.
EA. BENEVOLENTIA. ERGA. OMNES.
EA. ERGA. DEUM. PIETATE.
UT. HUMANUM. NIHIL. SUPRA.
IN. BONIS. LITERIS.
IN. THEOLOGIA.
IN. OMNI. PHILOSOPHIA,
EXERCITATISSIMO.
POETÆ. INSUPER.
REBUS. IN. LEVIORIBUS. FACETO.
IN. GRANDIORIBUS. SUBLIMI.
QUI. PLACIDAM. ANIMAM. EFFLAVIT.
XIX. NOVEMB. M.D.CCXC.
ANNOS. HABENS. XXII. DIESQUE. XIII.
PATER. MOERENS. H. M. P.

The last sad and melancholy duty on the part of an unhappy father, has been the publication of the posthumous works of a son*, of whom he concludes an interesting account as follows:

"I have lost," says he, "the pleasantest, and, for the last four or five years of his short life, one of the most instructive companions that ever man was delighted with. But—THE LORD GAVE; THE LORD HATH TAKEN AWAY: BLESSED BE THE NAME OF THE LORD. I adore the Author of all good, who gave him grace to lead such a life, and die such a death, as makes it impossible for a Christian to doubt of his having entered upon the inheritance of a happy immortality."

* These, which, with the account "of the author's life and character," form a thin 12mo. volume, were very handsomely printed at the press of T. Gillet, Salisbury Square, in 1799.

But,

But, as if the sorrows of our Professor had not already been sufficiently acute, he experienced, in 1796, an additional weight of calamity, by the death of his younger son, Montagu Beattie, so called after Mrs. Montagu, and he was left once more to mourn his loss, and illustrate the object of his affections, by an inscription over this other tomb*.

Dr. Beattie has always been considered as an amiable man in every department of private life. In the character of a husband his conduct has been exemplary, and we have already beheld him carrying the affections of a father to an extent scarcely compatible with Christian resignation. His fame has not a little contributed to the flourishing state of that university of which he is the ornament. While his health permitted, no one was more eager or more zealous to discharge the duties of his professorship, and we may venture to observe, that a lapse of many years is likely to ensue before the chair of "Moral Philosophy" be filled by an abler lecturer.

As a poet, the Doctor must be allowed to have

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MONTAGU. BEATTIE.
JACOBI. HAY. BEATTIE. FRATER.
EJUSQUE. VIRTUTUM. ET. STUDIORUM.
ÆMULUS.
SEPULCHRIQUE. CONSORS.
VARIARUM. PERITUS. ARTIUM.
PINGENDI. IMPRIMIS.
NATUS. OCTAVO JULII. MDCCLXXVIII.
MULTUM. DEFLETUS. OBIIT.
DECIMO. QUARTO. MARTII. MDCCXCVI.

great

attained great excellence. His taste is chaste, his versification elegant, and in choice of language and of imagery he is inferior to none of his contemporaries. Had he continued, like Pope and Dryden, to cultivate the Muses, even in his old age, his classical talents and harmonious numbers would have ensured still greater fame; but there is some reason to suppose that he has long neglected the mountain of "Olympus" for the hill of "Zion," and been more anxious to attain the reputation of a *Christian hero* than that of the greatest of modern bards.

In Dr. B. the kindred talent of music has been united with that of poetry; he not only likes and understands this science as an *amateur*, but is himself actually a proficient: his instrument is the violin *.

As to his person, he is about the middle size, and although his aspect be pleasing, yet there is nothing that would distinguish him from the bulk of mankind, were it not for the vivacity of the poet, which at

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* Both Dr. B. and his son cultivated music, and were accustomed to assist at little domestic concerts along with a few friends, who like themselves were not only *amateurs*, but occasional performers. The Doctor indeed, even early in life, seems to have taken an opportunity of denouncing "anathema" against those who were not inspired by "the dulcet sounds" of melody, being ever ready to exclaim with Shakspeare:

"That man, who hath not music in his soul,
And is not mov'd by concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for rape, for stratagem, and wiles," &c.

"Is

at times still beams in his eye, and irradiates his countenance.

Dr. B. has refrained from visiting the metropolis for some years: he was formerly accustomed to repair thither almost every summer, sometimes making a journey by land, and sometimes, by way of variety, preferring a voyage by sea.

He now resides constantly at Aberdeen during the winter, and contents himself with a short excursion to the Wells of Peterhead* towards the beginning of autumn.

"Is there a heart that music cannot melt?
Alas! how is that rugged heart forlorn!
Is there, who ne'er those mystic transports felt,
Of solitude and melancholy born?
He needs not woo the Muse; he is her scorn.
The sophist's rope of cobweb he shall twine,
Mope o'er the schoolman's peevish page, or mourn,
And delve for life in Mammon's dirty mine;
Sneak with the scoundrel fox, or grunt with glutton swine."

THE MINSTREL, Book I. lvi.

* Peterhead, the occasional residence of some of the nobility, and many of the northern gentry, during the summer months, appears to have been always a favourite spot, both with Dr. Beattie and his son, the latter of whom has celebrated the place in an Alcaick ode; here follows a specimen:

"AD PETRIPROMONTORIUM INVITATIO.

"QUICUNQUE nostis turbida gaudia
Tuti quieti pectoris otio,
Silentio qui ruris urbem
Post habuisse tumultuantem:

"Queis sana sono in corpore mens placet;
Excelsa quorum corda vel evehit

Sublime,

As his health is not yet completely re-established, Dr. Glennie at present superintends his class; but the author of this article is happy to learn, from a

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Sublime, vel mulcet Venustum,
Huc celeres properate gressus.

"Hic fundit urna divite nam Salus
Fontes, amæni et frigora balnei,
Arvosque lætâ vestit herba
Et gelidis agitavit auris.

"At nulla venti sibila personant
Arbusta nobis, neve per arborum
Umbrosa late regna, longum et
Dat querulum liquida unda murmur," &c.

"INVITATION TO PETERHEAD.

"Ye, who for sweets that never cloy
Can quit wild pleasure's toilsome strife;
For rural peace, and silent joy,
Can quit the storms of city life:

"Whom languor, or whom pain, alarms,
Who seek a mind from trouble freed,
On nature's mild or awful charms
Who gaze in rapture; hither speed.

"Here Health her baths enlivening tide,
And fountains sparkling nectar pours;
Fields fluctuate in flowery pride,
While cool gales fan the quiet shores.

"What, though for us no tainted breeze
Along the vocal thicket rove;*
No rivulet glance through whispering trees,
And murmur down a depth of grove.

"Th' expanded plain health joys to tread," &c.

* There are no woods in the neighbourhood, and very few trees.

gentleman

gentleman who saw and conversed with him some time since, that he has recovered from his late indisposition, has become once more cheerful, and is in full possession of all his faculties.

May he long continue to testify his indignation against

"Pyrrho's maze and Epicurus' stye,"

and exclaim now as heretofore:

"Hence! ye, who snare and stupify the mind,
Sophists, of beauty, virtue, joy, the bane!
Greedy and fell, though impotent and blind,
Who spread your filthy nets in Truth's fair fane,
And ever ply your venom'd fangs amain!
Hence to dark Error's den, whose rankling slime
First gave you form! hence! lest the Muse should deign
(Though loth on theme so mean to waste a rhyme)
With vengeance to pursue your sacrilegious crime."

HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

THE HON. SIR JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON,

Knight of the most noble Order of the Bath,
Commander in Chief of the Army of Egypt, &c.

NO spot of equal, or even of ten times the size, on the face of the habitable globe, hath produced so many celebrated naval commanders as have been born within the narrow bounds of the British empire. The genius of our nation was never directed towards large standing armies, or a system of military tactics, on a grand scale: the love of liberty, inherent in the inhabitants of these islands, has always rendered them jealous

jealous of the first, while an enlightened policy has until of late precluded the second.

From the continental wars of our Henries and our Edwards we only reaped a barren glory; while the shining victories obtained during the reign of Anne have led to a gigantic national debt, taxes that appal even the most inconsiderate, and fiscal regulations that may in the end sweep away all our boasted privileges, and spread desolation through the land.

It is but little wonder, therefore, that Britain being in some measure a nursery of seamen, we should boast of many scores of able and intrepid Admirals, while so barren have we been in regard to great Generals, that we have scarcely any more than one single solitary instance of a man of genius * being placed at the head of our armies since the glorious period of the Revolution.

It indeed falls to the lot of but few either to be born with, or to acquire the talents necessary for command; and of these few it is absolutely necessary, on one hand, that they should possess the singular good fortune which produces favourable opportunities for exertion, and the family connexion and influence on the other, without which it is difficult, if not impossible, to attain high and eminent situations under our mixed form of government. None of these, however, appear to have been wanting in the person of the present Commander in Chief of the Army of Egypt; and indeed, by a happy union

* The Duke of Marlborough.

of

of all, he has contrived to burst forth like a meteor, and to attain high honours and great celebrity before the conclusion of a single campaign.

Sir John Hely Hutchinson is a native of Ireland, having been born in Dublin on the 15th of May 1757. His family is a very ancient one, and, like most of the *old race*, paid dearly for political attachments, it having forfeited a tract of country containing forty thousand acres. His grandfather, Mr. Hely, was an attorney of some eminence: his father, the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, a man of trenscendant abilities and insatiable ambition, changed the paternal name, in consequence of a marriage with a rich heiress*, and occupied high situations in the country that gave him birth. He commenced his splendid career as an advocate, and realized 80,000l. at least as a lawyer.

In 1774 he attained the lucrative and honourable situation of Provost of Trinity College, Dublin †; and three years after (in 1777) succeeded Philip Tisdale, Esq. as Secretary of State, in which capacity he may be said to have been the first Irishman who for centuries has *governed* Ireland ‡. In return for the

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* The addition of Hutchinson was assumed on, or soon after, his nuptials with Miss Nixon, the daughter of —— Nixon, Esq. of Murry, in the county of Wicklow, *niece* and *heiress* to the late Richard Hutchinson, Esq. of Knocklofty.

† On the death of Francis Andrew, Esq.

‡ Until the seals were deposited with the nobleman who has possession of them at present, there is no instance upon record of an Irishman having presided in the Court of Chancery.

opulence acquired with his wife, he had now interest enough to ennoble that lady and her progeny, Mrs. Hutchinson having had the name of her family estate converted into a title, she being created Baroness Donoughmore of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary, by patent, dated October 10th, 1783, with remainder to her heirs male by her then husband. On this occasion he exhibited a singular and indeed an unexpected instance of moderation, having declined annexing any honours to his own person.

By this lady Mr. Hutchinson had a numerous progeny, no less than ten children, six sons and four daughters, all of whom are now alive. On the demise of his mother, Lady Donoughmore,* Richard, the eldest male, succeeded to the barony, pursuant to the terms of the patent, and a further encrease of honours has since taken place, he having lately received the patent of an Earldom.

Mr. Hutchinson, the subject of this memoir, being a younger brother,† it was intended that he should *push his fortune* in the world: care was therefore taken that he should be enabled to do it with every advantage on his side. His father accordingly bestowed great pains on his education, and as he entertained a high notion of the benefits arising from a public school in England, after the necessary preliminary instruction, he was sent thither. Eaton, which has produced so many great men, was the seminary selected for this purpose; and that nothing

* June 24th, 1788.

† He is the second son.

might

might be wanting on the score of classical attainments, Dean Bond was pitched upon as his private tutor while there. After this young Hutchinson removed to Trinity College, Dublin, where he was of course more immediately under the eye of an affectionate and attentive parent.

Having discovered an early partiality for a military life, Mr. Hutchinson easily obtained a commission in the army. He accordingly made his *debut*, when only eighteen years of age, as an officer of horse, being appointed to the 18th dragoons; after this, he served first in the 67th regiment of foot, and then in the 77th Highlanders.

Nor were any pains or expence wanting to qualify him for command, as he was sent to study in a military academy at Strasburgh, in order to obtain a knowledge of *tactics* under the best French masters.

Having acquired a fluency in that language, which has become the common medium of social and scientific intercourse throughout Europe, Mr. H. visited the Continent frequently; and no sooner did the French Revolution exhibit a formidable aspect to the surrounding nations, and present the certainty of a war, than he repaired to the scene of action, and witnessed all the evolutions and manœuvres of her embattled squadrons. Considering the French camp as a school for a young soldier, he easily found means to be introduced to the commander of the army on the frontiers; and it was his lot to be along with him at a very critical and important epoch—when La Fayette, whose patriotism was suspected,

 found

found himself reduced to the cruel necessity of abandoning his troops, and betaking himself to flight!

The events of war are sure to abound with new and interesting occurrences, and to present an infinite variety of changes, in point of situation and effect; but after making all due allowances, it could scarcely have been supposed, that this young stranger, then only a *Captain on half-pay*,* thus introduced into their camp, should in the space of a few years have acted a conspicuous part against the French nation, and combated the forces of that people, as the English Commander in Chief on the distant shores of Egypt.

He afterwards surveyed the army of the Duke of Brunswick, and is said to have predicted the disasters that ensued.

Mr. Hutchinson was scarcely of age when he obtained a seat in the Irish parliament, having been returned a member for the opulent City of Cork, in or about the year 1777, on the *independent interest.* Notwithstanding the places, honours, and emoluments obtained by his father, there was one point which he would never concede to any administration —this was the grand question of Catholic emancipation—and unlike some of his contemporaries and rivals, who seemed eminently ambitious to oppress all those who dared to worship God after the manner of *their own grandfathers*, he was ever a spirited ad-

* The Editor has been informed, that at this period he had actually obtained no higher rank than that of a Captain, in a regiment commanded by his relation Colonel Crosby.

vocate

vocate in behalf of toleration to that faith professed by a great majority of the Irish nation. The son followed his footsteps; and when that question was debated in the Irish House of Commons, in 1789, he delivered one of the most eloquent orations that had ever been pronounced within its walls.

It has already been remarked, that General Hutchinson distinguished himself greatly in the Irish House of Commons, in favour of Catholic emancipation; and the author of this sketch laments exceedingly, that it is not at present in his power to lay before the reader a copy of his speech on that memorable occasion. He is however more fortunate in respect to his sentiments relative to the Union, a grand political speculation, which had his decided approbation, although he cannot be supposed as an Irisman to have assented to *all* the means recurred to by the then existing administration, in order to carry it into effect.

When this question was agitated with great warmth, on Monday, February 17th, 1800, after the Chancellor of the Exchequer had delivered his sentiments, and moved the first resolution, General Hutchinson arose and spoke as follows:

"As I have been sometimes in the habit of taking a part in the debates of this House, it is impossible for me to avoid giving the reasons which have operated to decide my conduct on this important occasion.

From what we have lately heard and read, one would be led to think, that the proposal of an Union, on the part of England, was the greatest insult, the most provoking indignity that had ever been offered to the independence of a free, a tranquil, and an undivided nation. One would suppose, that Great Britain had come

a supplicant at the threshold of a magnanimous and more powerful people; that she had every thing to ask, and we every thing to give; imploring to be allowed to prop her weakness by our strength, and to be a sharer in our prosperity, resources and peace.

The first argument against the Union is, that we surrender the independence of our Legislature, and submit ourselves to the controul of a foreign Parliament. Now I say, that we are already under the controul of that Parliament, in all questions of external legislation, and must ever continue so, as long as England retains her superiority over us, and Ireland remains an inferior member of a great Empire. The first moment you make a practical use of your independence, and presume to interfere in the great questions of imperial legislation, your own existence is threatened, the dissolution of the Empire approaches. Your co-equality with the Parliament of Great Britain is the dream of fancy, which can never be realised. You must tread in all her steps. Her friends must be your friends. Her enemies must be your enemies. Who would fear your hostility? Who would respect your neutrality? You are at present confined within the narrow sphere of internal policy, and condemned to legislate alone for a turbulent distracted province. You may deny your inferiority, and gild your submission with the proudest appellations. You may talk of rights, which you possess but in name; and of powers, which you dare not exercise; but you cannot move out of the sphere within which it is decreed you should act, without dissolving the connexion, subverting the empire, and ruining yourselves. Let me ask you, do you acquire nothing when you obtain the right of interfering in the great and imperial concerns of a great and noble Empire? when Europe and Asia, the East and the West, shall be opened to the Irish Gentleman for the display of those talents which so eminently distinguish him? when his mind shall be expanded by the consideration of the affairs of the whole world, and not narrowed by the petty and acrimonious feuds of an island?

Much has been said of the adjustment of 1782. For my part I do not know what finality means in human affairs. It might have been final as far as the then existing circumstances of things admitted; but it never can be supposed to bind all posterity, and to ac as an interdict against the wisdom, the experience, the necessities of ages yet unborn. We have lived to be witnesses of events, which could

could not have been in the contemplation of the most sagacious man then alive. The French Revolution has astonished and shaken a trembling world; has menaced the dissolution of the British Empire, and deluged this country in the blood of her own citizens. What resource does the settlement of 1782 afford to our present disastrous circumstances? We were not then threatened by external hostility, and domestic oppression. The embers of a rebellion scarcely yet extinguished, were not then warm under our feet. Rebellion could not be applied at that time to disorders which exist now. You then established the independence of your Parliament, and rescued your rights from the usurpation of a foreign Legislature. The contest was worthy and magnanimous on your side; the concession was wise and salutary on the part of Great Britain. But we cannot be guilty of such treachery towards ourselves, and of such delusion towards our Constituents, as to be unwilling to acknowledge that that settlement neither gave peace, strength, nor security to this unhappy country. You contended then for Liberty---you contended for Government---for your honours, your properties, your principles, and your lives. In 1798, did Rebellion array itself in order to procure the independence of Parliament? No; they armed for its extinction. Was it to strengthen, to secure, to render immortal the British connexion! No; it was to dissolve it for ever, and to establish in its room French alliance, French confiscation, and French anarchy. Eternal hatred to England, eternal amity with France, was the sworn creed of those doctors of the new light, of those apostles of the modern doctrine of liberty and equality. Irish Independence under French Protection was the watch-word which echoed through their ranks on the day of battle. Irish Independence, which if it could be obtained without guile, would be the height of folly and madness to aim at. Suppose, for a moment, that there was no honest prejudice in favour of Great Britain---no common links of attachment ---no ties of blood--- no similarity of manners, laws, and language ---yet still, I say, that connexion and union with Great Britain ought to be the council and sound policy of Ireland. Surely, it is better for you to be a component part of a great and free Empire, than a weak and petty State, standing alone, resting on the forbearance of a treacherous and despotic Ally.

The age in which we live is peculiarly unfortunate to the secondary powers of the world. The cunning of Sardinia, the open hostility of Naples, the ancient alliance of Switzerland, the the tortuous policy of America, have been alike unavailing.--War has been without success, and Peace without security---resistance has not added dignity to their fall, nor neutrality preserved them from degradation and plunder; they have been either slaves of French force, or the dupes of French faith---great Empires have been alone enabled to preserve themselves and their subjects. Whatever may be the issue of the present contest, one thing is certain---the chimerical idea of the Balance of Power in Euorpe is gone for ever. Secondary States have a miserable security and a precarious existence in the justice and moderation of their more powerful neighbours.

" During the discussion of this subject, I have heard something of the treachery and perfidy of Great Britain. For my part I cannot apprehend it, because I am sure she cannot be false to us, and remain true to herself. I do not mean to panegyrize what was once the conduct of Great Britain towards this island: her circumscribed folly induced her to adopt an idle and dangerous line of policy, which her capacious wisdom has long since taught her to reject. It would be something extraordinary in the greater country not to acknowledge that we are as necessary to her as she is to us. England, like other countries, has her follies and her faults, her vices and her crimes; but there never was a nation to whom a peculiar degree of sound sense and solid reason might so justly be attributed. Do you think that at this day she remains unconvinced that your prosperity is her prosperity, your resource her resource? What has she acquired by your poverty? In the last war she more than once paid your army from her treasury; in this she has assisted you by her credit, and guaranteed to her merchants your loans; it was but yesterday that your weakness called for the assistance of her army---you were obeyed in the midst of an extended and desolating war, not for empire or dominion, but for existence. Your population, your ports, the redundancy of your corn, your military energies, are all necessary to Great Britain. She has been the constant sufferer by all your calamities; the partner in all your distress. Do you think that it

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is by perfidy and treachery a wise nation can hope to strengthen herself, or secure you? No. She must be convinced that when you sink, she totters—when you fall, her power vanishes; her empire menaces ruin; her reign is extinguished. It was wisely said, at a period less enlightened than the present, by the great luminary of modern times, that "England and Ireland might both flourish together." I go further, I am sure they cannot flourish separately—they are mutually necessary to each other.

"For my own part, Sir, I cannot look round this island, or survey Europe without being thoroughly convinced of the necessity of some change. The present constitution of parliament cannot last—the experience of two centuries is against it. The failure is manifest; it has weakened the Empire without strengthening you. Formed for the infancy of a foreign and a little colony, it has sunk before the manhood of a great nation, and has become private property and not public right. The diminution of the legislature has been in direct proportion with the encrease of the country. If this parliament had been found entirely competent to preserve the national tranquillity—if no external circumstances had taken place to require a closer connexion with Great Britain—I should not have voted for the union. But if within every thing is hollow, if without every thing is menacing—let me ask you where is your remedy against internal distraction? Where is your shield against foreign invasion? What is property without security? What is liberty when life is in danger; and when the house of a country gentleman must either be his garrison or his tomb?

"All the arguments I have heard against the union, are addresses to the pride, the passions, the prejudices of an irritable nation, more in the habits of acting from the impulse of quick feelings, than from the dictates of sound discretion and of sober reason. I am perfectly convinced of the political necessity of endeavouring to preserve a sense of national dignity. It is the source of all pre-eminence—the fountain of glory to nations, and of honor to individuals—the origin of all power, strength, and greatness. I wish amidst the wreck and ruin which surrounds us, that we had any thing to nourish this noble passion; any thing to sooth vanity, or console pride. But the history of this country for the last six

centuries

centuries has been the sad degrading melancholy picture of barbarous discord and savage acrimony; of party zeal and sectarian struggle; a fugitive government without fixed principles; a minister without responsibility; a parliament fearless of the people, from whom they did not derive their origin; a triumphant aristocracy and a deluded nation. Your rights were invaded; your commerce annihilated; your constitution lay in the dust. You submitted to be slaves abroad, provided you were allowed to be tyrants at home. Certainly for the first eighty years of this century, the government of this country was the most arbitrary and oppressive of any in Europe. Every weak habit of the human intellect; every bad passion of the human breast; every base disposition of our infirm nature were called into action; presided at the judgment seat of justice, and expounded a code, whose monstrous absurdity was only to be equalled by its sanguinary cruelty; a code, unexampled in the annals of civilized man, which put three-fourths of the inhabitants of this country out of the protection of the law, which gave any ruffian who professed to believe the established religion, a power of invading the property of the innocent catholic, and of seizing on the fruits of his industry. This criminal legislation offered premiums to hypocrisy and perjury, and endeavoured to secure the state by undermining the morals of the citizen. I dwell with little pleasure on this subject, though I am convinced that the infatuated policy of our ancestors has been the great source of the calamities which have afflicted their descendants. Certainly during the course of his Majesty's long and auspicious reign, a wiser and more liberal line of conduct has been pursued towards this country; but in human affairs it is much easier to commit than to remedy an error—the wisdom of one age cannot always repair the folly of another. Though much of those laws have been repealed, the consequences of a barbarous code are still evident amongst us. The dregs of this deadly poison still remain, and have implanted in too many bosoms those unhappy jealousies—those ill-founded suspicions—those idle fears—those sanguinary passions, which black malignant, rancorous, religious fanaticism alone can excite. This country has exhibited the singular spectacle of a parliament trampling upon the wisdom, the principles,

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and the duties of a legislator, and adopting the manners, the tone, and the habits of an inquisitor.

"The effects of this system were such as might naturally have been expected; Ireland in many respects sunk below the level of other European countries. It was impossible to hope for love to the law, zeal for the constitution, or attachment to the government; for protection is the parent of obedience, reverence and submission are its honorable children. That pure, unsullied, unalloyed allegiance, the vital principle of states, the only solid foundation of legitimate rule, which will not yield to the clumsy chain of force, but is created by benefits, acknowledged by gratitude, and nourished by hope, can only be expected by a good and beneficent government from a happy and contented people. The powers of the earth will at length learn this salutary truth, that government must ever be in danger when the subject has nothing to lose. Surely there must have been some pre-disposing cause, which rendered the admission of French principles more easy and more general in this country than almost in any other in Europe. God has not cursed the land with barrenness, nor the people with intellectual darkness; but much of the energies of an acute, a brave, and a generous nation have been suffered to prey upon its own powers, to rot and perish in obscurity, indolence, and wretchedness. The vice and virtue of subjects must generally be attributed to the government under which they have lived. Hard and oppressive laws naturally tend to corrupt the human heart, and to make man brutal and ferocious. If to this shall be superadded the tyranny of manners, more insulting and humiliating than any system of law, nothing can be more wretched than the state of such a nation, nothing more dangerous and more menacing than such a government, resting on so frail and so tottering a foundation. What is the security of the tyrant? The debasement of his slave. What is his punishment? The corruption of his own principles. If in a state so circumstanced, the forms of a free constitution shall still be adhered to, the ferocity of the lower class of men will assault from without, whilst the venality of the upper will undermine from within.

"The light of the French revolution, with all its fond delusions, broke on a country where there was neither equal law nor

equal

equal liberty; where the line of separation between the rulers and the ruled was immense; where the spirit of persecution was substituted for the spirit of peace and charity, and even atoned for the want of religion itself. This island was therefore a prepared soil for the reception of jacobin principles, and they have flourished with all the growth of rank luxuriance. If almost the whole people of England have flocked to the standard of royalty—if they have shewn the highest zeal for their constitution, and the greatest reverence for their laws.—It has neither been the effect of passion nor of prejudice, but the wise and deep-rooted sentiment of the benefits which they have derived from the one, and of the protection which the other has afforded them. Under this system they have flourished and prospered; they have enjoyed, for a century, a degree of liberty and security unknown to other nations. With a limited population, with natural resources by no means of the first magnitude, they have become a great and flourishing empire; commanding commerce, displaying a triumphant flag in every quarter of the globe; protecting Europe by its resources, its councils, its courage, and its energies; rallying again the powers of the continent to the standard of order, religion, and government; and covering the best institutions of social man with the adamantine shield of true philosophy and immortal reason. From whence then arise the different circumstances of two islands only separated from each other by a narrow channel? Open the annals of your own country; ask your own hearts, and you will then find the solution of the problem. In what events of your history can you take pride? The past is without glory—the present disastrous and humiliating; all is darkness and desolation around us. Oppression, rapine, anarchy, rebellion, follow each other in sad and melancholy gradation. In nominal possession of the laws and constitution of one of the most illustrious nations that has ever existed; where liberty has been better secured, better understood, and better enjoyed, than in any other state ancient or modern, we never have experienced, for any lengthened period, either order or peace. The British constitution appears to have lain a dead weight upon us, inoperative and oppressive; the magistrates without authority, the laws without respect. The frequency of insurrection among the lower class of men, clearly proves that there has been some-

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thing radically wrong in the state of Ireland. It would be absurd to argue, and a libel on the national character to assert, that the fault has been entirely with the people. The circumstances of the two islands are certainly as different as possible; but the operation of the laws, and the administration of the government, have also been as different as that of two nations that were in possession of distinct and opposite constitutions. He who was capable of maintaining that Ireland has been well governed, would pay an ill compliment to your understandings, and be guilty of an idle perversion of the truth. We must acknowledge and deplore the sad circumstances of the times in which we live: licentious manners; profligate morals; the perversion of all sound and honest principle; the ardent desire of the poor to invade the property of the rich; have not only menaced the entire overthrow of all governments, but the utter subversion of civilized society.

"If these disorders, the common malady of the times, have been more severely felt in Ireland than almost in other country: the reason is obvious; the law and the government warred too long against the dearest interests of the people. I will not do any nation in Europe the honour to place them in natural endowments above the inhabitants of this island: though certainly in acquirements they are inferior to those that surround them. It is nonsense to suppose that they could not be made as amenable to law as other men, or that they could not be convinced of the blessings of good government, order, and industry. There is even an energy in their character, and courage in their minds, which might lead to great and noble exertions. I can safely put my hand to my heart and declare, that no Irish gentleman ever had prouder views for his country than I had: but my hopes are blasted; those ideal projects, those visions of national greatness, are fled to return no more. Temperate reformation is impossible; revolution is imminent; we must resist it, or perish. There is no remedy for our present disorders: the contagious poison of Jacobin principles has been poured upon wounds still fresh and bleeding: the too general diffusion of those abominable principles were the real origin of the late rebellion. I am persuaded that religion, catholic emancipation, or parliamentary reform, had very little to do with it; they might at first have been the pretext, but they

never

never were the efficient cause: it was an attempt to carry on a war on a new principle, which had not its origin here, but which has invaded every country, and threatened every government. They did not seek to reform the parliament, but to overthrow the state; they did not wish to emancipate the catholic, but to proscribe the landholder of both communities: they armed the strength of the poor man with the dagger of the assassin to plunder the rich, in order afterwards to enslave both. Jacobinism appears for a time to have erected its favourite throne in this ill-fated country; that infuriate power, alike remorseless and ungovernable, unawed by conscience, unsubdued by reason, laughs at the credulity of man, and mocks his sufferings; it talks of our equal rights to destroy every right; it fires the palace to invade the cottage; it deposes, it murders kings, to trample on their subjects: a persecutor without religion; a sanguinary bigot without faith. It does not war with one law, but with every law; it does not attack one government, but every government; it does not proscribe one religion, but every religion: all that habit has rendered dear, time rendered venerable, or faith rendered sacred, falls before its exterminating sword.

Had the Parliament of Ireland worked the good and the happiness of the people of Ireland, I would not have voted for this measure, however beautiful and excellent the theory of Union may be; for in political life I shall ever prefer practical experience to distant speculation: but I am convinced that Ireland would be better governed after the proposed arrangement, than under the present system. I disapprove of the past; I have no hope for the future. I have no doubt that the conduct of the united Parliament will be wise towards the empire, and consequently fair and honourable towards Ireland. The animosities of sects in our time will never cease; reconciliation is impossible: there is no charity amongst us; there is no hope of peace. It is necessary to remove us from a paltry, narrow, circumscribed theatre, where all the little passions of little minds can display themselves in the fullest extent; where religious controversy will still continue to afflict and disgrace us; where there is too much prejudice calmly to discuss, and too much passion to be wise. Go and unite with a nation more fortunate and more enlightened than yourselves: you

take

take with you a country shackled and manacled; outraged and deformed by the wicked policy of man, but arrayed in all those capabilities which bountiful nature, with a profuse and prodigal hand, has poured upon her. Go, and may your future history be as honourable and glorious as your past has been calamitous and disgraceful.

"I have now given you my reasons for voting for this measure. They may be weak and futile; they may be such as cautious prudence would not suggest, or timidity avow; but they are the ardent and honest conviction of a mind which has given its best attention to the affairs of Ireland: they are the sentiments of a man who values you too highly, and respects himself too much, to think concealment justifiable on a vital question. I should wish to retain your good opinion, but I am determined never to forfeit my own. If I have wounded the pride, or shocked the prejudices of many amongst you, I sincerely regret it; but I never can repent it. The times in which we live place us all above the cold civility of parliamentary forbearance. Every man is not only at liberty, but is bound to assign the reasons which have governed his conduct. I have given you mine without private interest, without passion, and without fear. No popular delusion, no idle clamour, no false misrepresentation, shall ever induce me to depart from what I consider to be a great fundamental truth, that the best government for these countries is one executive and one legislature; a connected people and an united parliament. Whatever may be the fate and fortunes of this great measure, I shall ever assert, I shall ever defend my conduct; to have voted for the Union shall be the pride and boast of my political life."

The war that soon after ensued with France awoke the martial spirit of the two nations, and opened all the avenues to preferment. On this occasion the family of the Hutchinsons distinguished itself by its loyalty and zeal, for Lord Donoughmore raised one regiment, and his brother, Colonel (now Lieutenant General) Hutchinson, was permitted to recruit and embody another.

At

At the commencement of the unhappy conflict in the sister kingdom the subject of these memoirs took a manly and decided part in favour of the government. As an *Irishman* he doubtless felt for, and viewed with indignation, the continuance of those penal laws which impose restraints on the conscience, and inflict temporal punishments for supposed spiritual offences. He revolted however with abhorrence at the thoughts of a separation from Great Britain; he treated the idea of independence as a chimæra; and he beheld some of his countrymen invoking foreign succour and assistance with horror. Notwithstanding this he tempered his military authority with becoming lenity, and was desirous to subdue the minds as well as the persons of the Irish peasantry.*

During the invasion under General Humbert, Colonel Hutchinson conducted himself like an active, able, and indefatigable officer. He was only second in command at the battle of Castlebar, and it was owing to an unfortunate and unforeseen event that the progress of the French was not stopped that very day. He however had the pleasure of assisting soon after at the capitulation, which put a period to their hostility; and he acted on this, as he has done on all occasions, so as to ensure the thanks of his superior officers.

* General Hutchinson commanded in the Connaught district, and received a present of a magnificent sword as a testimony of the esteem and gratitude of the inhabitants.

During the first expedition to Holland * Colonel Hutchinson served along with General Abercrombie, and such was the high estimation in which he was held by that able and discerning officer, that the latter was extremely desirous, at all times, of having his advice and assistance. It was on this occasion he first obtained the friendship of the gallant commander just alluded to, by whom he was employed in negotiations by means of flags of truce, and every thing connected with *la diplomatique militaire.* Colonel H. however was one of the first to enter the trenches at the siege of Valenciennes.

In the second and last expedition to the same country he served under the Duke of York, with the rank of Major General, and was mentioned in the most honourable manner in the dispatches of his Royal Highness. In the course of that memorable campaign he saw much service, and received a wound in the thigh during the last day's fight, when, on Lord Cavan's being disabled in consequence of an accident from an unruly horse, he gallantly led on that nobleman's brigade against the enemy.

The disastrous events that attended the latter part of the campaign in Holland, were never attributed in the remotest degree to General Abercrombie. On the contrary, his character rose still higher than be-

* On this occasion he acted merely as a volunteer, but having attached himself to the person of Sir R. Abercrombie, he was appointed to an honourable situation on his staff: that of supernumerary *Aide-de-Camp.*

fore, and when it was recollected with what humanity he had tempered the exercise of his authority in Ireland, and bridled the fury of an insatiate soldiery, who had in some instances been let loose to prey on their fellow men and their fellow subjects, all parties joined in his praise, and those who disagreed in every thing else, acted in union respecting him.

It accordingly afforded high satisfaction to the public, when it was determined to fit out an expedition against Egypt, to learn that Abercrombie was destined to the chief command. No sooner was he invested with his authority, than he recommended his friend Hutchinson as an officer worthy of the confidence of government, and fully capable of seconding his efforts: that gentleman accordingly embarked on the expedition as next in command.

It at first excited some surprise when it was announced that General Hutchinson was appointed to so high and important a station. Of much experience he could not indeed boast, for he was too young to have served during the American war, and every one was not acquainted with the particulars of his conduct in Ireland and in Holland, in neither of which countries he had exercised a separate command. Those however who had studied his character and contemplated his actions, deemed him fully qualified for the post assigned him, nor has his conduct hitherto called their judgment in question.

It now remains for us to give some account of the Egyptian expedition, for on it will finally depend the reputation of the subject of these memoirs; a few enlightened

lightened men indeed may be found who think for themselves, and judge neither by victories nor defeats: the bulk of mankind however hold their opinions in *abeyance* to events, and decide according to the caprice of fortune.

The merit or demerit of attempting to obtain possession of Egypt, was long divided between the present First Consul Bonaparte and the late Directory, and it was not until the siege of Acre, when the fickle goddess for the first time appeared *blind* in the presence of the Corsican chief, that he was discovered to be the author of an invasion which has already cost Europe so much blood, and subjected Africa to so much unavailing misery. Many other important particulars are however still involved in obscurity. It is not as yet generally known, whether the Divan at first privy to the project, was not afterwards obliged in consequence of the threats of the late Emperor of Russia, to disavow the scheme and arm against the invaders. We are even in the dark respecting the extent of the policy that originally urged France to this undertaking. Was it intended to colonise Egypt with the veteran troops left at the return of peace, and who being inured to the rapine and spoliations always attendant upon warfare, could not be safely *reimbibed* into the political system? Or, as her East India settlements and West India islands had fallen a sacrifice to the arms of England, was it deemed necessary to open new markets for the commerce of the mother country, to obtain raw materials for her manufactures, and useful commodities for home consumption and

 exportation?

exportation? Or, rather, did not this project originate solely in a gigantic ambition, and did not Bonaparte, emulating the enterprize of Alexander, encourage the daring hope, after seizing on Egypt like the Macedonian hero, to penetrate like him also into India, and extinguish the power of Britain in that quarter of the globe?

Be this as it may, that portion of Africa was forced to receive him as a conqueror: unexpected contingencies however occurred, and extraordinary circumstances intervened, which prevented him from realising his projects in respect to Asia; but his situation soon became still more eventful, for he returned to Europe, effected a new revolution in France, and placed himself, by a master stroke of policy, at the head of the republic!

The Minister of England, who had attempted to strangle the infant Hercules while yet in the cradle, beheld with equal surprise and astonishment the struggle maintained and the conquests achieved by the new commonwealth; it was unceasingly assailed in Europe by means of coalitions; in Asia and the West Indies by means of navies and of armies; every sea was searched for its fleet, and at length the distant Egypt itself became the scene of fresh combats and of fresh victories. Not content with either capturing or burning the formidable squadron under Admiral de Bruys, it was resolved to send a numerous and well appointed army thither, and contend hand to hand for the mastery of this fertile but unhealthy portion of Africa.

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This expedition having been determined upon, officers of known talents as we have already remarked were selected, and the proper means adopted in order to collect and embark a formidable army. Two singular circumstances occurred upon this occasion: the first was the departure from our ancient policy in respect to Portugal, which we abandoned to its fate; the second includes a curious piece of secret history: for General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and Major-General Hutchinson, the first and second in command, are said to have both given it as their decided opinion, that the undertaking was perilous, and even impracticable! As soldiers, however, they obeyed, and it is but fair to allow, that owing to a variety of fortunate and unforeseen circumstances, the success is far greater than could have been reasonably expected.

A strong squadron having been formed, and a large body of troops collected, notice was sent to the ambassador at Constantinople of the resolutions of the British cabinet, and an earnest wish for co-operation on the part of the Sublime Porte intimated to the Divan. The state of preparation was however still very imperfect, and the delay of the fleet on the coast of Asia Minor, was much longer than had been intended. In addition to this, the situation of the enemy was not clearly ascertained, nor the shores of Egypt sufficiently explored in order to effect a landing in the least hazardous position; for two* officers of the royal engineers who had been sent in the Penelope

* Majors Mackarras and Fletcher.

frigate for this purpose, were surprised in a small boat, and one killed and the other taken prisoner.

At length however the English fleet, accompanied by some Turkish gun-boats and kaicks, sailed from Marmarice on the 22nd of February 1801, came in sight of Alexandria on the 1st. and reached Aboukir bay on the 2nd of March. It was not the General's original intention to have landed here, or to have commenced the war on the side of Alexandria,* but circumstances seem to have produced an alteration in the plan first agreed upon. Another unfortunate event now occurred: for too much of the day on which they arrived had elapsed to enable the military to effect a descent before the approach of night, and a succession of strong northerly gales, attended by a heavy swell, rendered it impossible for them to disembark before the 8th. At two o'clock in the morning of that day the boats began to receive the troops, and at three the signal was made for their proceeding to rendezvous near the Mendovi; but such was the extent of the anchorage occupied by so large a fleet, that it was not until nine they could advance towards the shore, between the castle of Aboukir and the entrance of the Sed.

The enemy, who were fully aware of their intention, had assembled in great force; but the British, notwithstanding they were exposed to a severe cannonade, advanced under the fire of grape shot, made good their landing, ascended the hill with great intrepidity,

* See Sir Ralph Abercrombie's dispatch, dated "Camp before Alexandria, March 16."

trepidity,

trepidity, and forced the French to retire, leaving behind them several pieces of artillery and a number of horses.

The troops who had landed on this occasion advanced three miles the same day; and on the 12th the *whole army* moved forward and arrived in sight of the enemy, who were found formed on an advantageous ridge, with the right towards the canal of Alexandria, and the left flanked by the sea.

It being determined to give them battle on the morning of the 13th, preparations were accordingly made for that purpose, and General Hutchinson detached on an important service; but they were met half way by the French who attacked the leading brigades; the assailants however were forced to put themselves under the protection of the fortified heights which form the principal defence of Alexandria. "It was intended," says the gallant and unfortunate Abercrombie, "to have attacked them in this their last position; for which purpose the reserve under the command of Major General Moore, which had remained in column during the whole of the day was brought forward, and the second line under the command of Major General Hutchinson marched to the left across part of the lake Mariotis, with a view to attack the enemy on both flanks: but on reconnoitering their position, and not being prepared to occupy it after it should be carried, prudence required," adds he "that the troops who had behaved so bravely, and who were still, willing to attempt any thing however arduous, should not be exposed to a certain loss, when

the extent of the advantage could not be ascertained. They were therefore withdrawn, and now occupy a position with their right to the sea, and their left to the canal of Alexandria and lake Mariotis, about a league from the town of Alexandria."*

On the 18th of March the castle of Aboukir capitulated, and on the afternoon of the same day the Capitan Bey arrived with four or five Turkish frigates and corvettes, and some small vessels of the country.

The British army continued to occupy their former position without the occurrence of any material event, until the 21st of March, when the enemy attacked with the whole of their collected force, amounting probably from 11 to 12,000 men; for, of fourteen demi-brigades of infantry which they then possessed in that country, twelve appear to have been engaged, and all their cavalry with the exception of one regiment. The action having commenced about an hour before day-light, the contest became long and bloody, the French assailing, and the English repulsing them with equal gallantry on both sides. The enemy however completely failed in their original intention, which was to drive the British troops from their position; but they themselves retired in good order under the fire of their own cannon with which they had lined the opposite hills.

General Hutchinson on whom in consequence of the events of this day, the supreme command had de-

* Dispatch, dated "Camp before Alexandria, March 16."

volved, asserts, "*that few more severe actions have been fought, considering the numbers on both sides."

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* *Head-quarters, Camp four miles from Alexandria, April* 5, 1801.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you that, after the affair of the 13th of March, the army took a position about four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in their front, the sea on their right, and the canal of Alexandria (at present dry), and the lake of Aboukir on their left. In this position we remained without any material occurrence taking place till the 21st of March, when the enemy attacked us with nearly the whole of their collected force, amounting probably to 11,000 or 12,000 men. Of fourteen demi-brigades of infantry which the French have in this country, twelve appear to have been engaged, and all their cavalry, with the exception of one regiment.

The enemy made the following disposition of their army:

General Lanusse was on their left, with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry, commanded by General Roize; Generals Friant and Rampon were in the centre, with five demi-brigades; General Regnier on the right, with two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry; General D'Estain commanded the advanced guard, consisting of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry.

The action commenced about an hour before day-light, by a false attack on our left, which was under Major-General Cradock's command, where they were soon repulsed. The most vigorous efforts of the enemy were, however, directed against our right, which they used every possible exertion to turn. The attack on that point was begun with great impetuosity by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in column. They were received by our troops with equal ardour, and the utmost steadiness and discipline. The contest was unusually obstinate; the enemy were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with our infantry; they at length retired, leaving a prodigious number of dead and wounded on the field.

While this was passing on the right, they attempted to penetrate our centre with a column of infantry, who were also repulsed, and obliged

"We have suffered," adds he "an irreparable loss, in the person of our never sufficiently to be lamented

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obliged to retreat with loss. The French, during the whole of the action, refused their right. They pushed forward however, a corps of light troops, supported by a body of infantry and cavalry, to keep our left in check, which certainly was, at that time, the weakest part of our line.

We have taken about two hundred prisoners (not wounded), but it was impossible to pursue our victory, on account of our inferiority of cavalry, and because the French had lined the opposite hills with cannon, under which they retired. We also have suffered considerably; few more severe actions have ever been fought, considering the numbers on both sides. We have sustained an irreparable loss in the person of our never sufficiently to be lamented Commander in Chief Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was mortally wounded in the action, and died on the 28th of March. I believe he was wounded early, but he concealed his situation from those about him, and continued in the field, giving his orders with that coolness and perspicuity which had ever marked his character, till long after the action was over, when he fainted through weakness and loss of blood. Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him, more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country—will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity.

It is impossible for me to do justice to the zeal of the officers, and to the gallantry of the soldiers of this army. The reserve, against whom the principal attack of the enemy was directed, conducted themselves with unexampled spirit. They resisted the impetuosity of the French infantry, and repulsed several charges of cavalry. Major-General Moore was wounded at their head, though not dangerously. I regret, however, the temporary absence from the army of this highly valuable and meritorious officer, whose counsel and co-operation would be so highly necessary to me

COMMANDER IN CHIEF SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE, who was mortally wounded in the action, and died on the

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me at this moment. Brigadier-General Oakes was wounded nearly at the same time, and the army has been deprived of the service of an excellent officer. The 28th and 42d regiments acted in the most distinguished and brilliant manner. Colonel Paget, an officer of great promise, was wounded at the head of the former regiment; he has since, though not quite recovered, returned to his duty.

Brigadier-General Stuart and the foreign brigade supported the reserve with much promptness and spirit; indeed, it is but justice to this corps to say, that they have, on all occasions, endeavoured to emulate the zeal and spirit exhibited by the British troops, and have perfectly succeeded. Major-General Ludlow deserves much approbation for his conduct when the centre of the army was attacked: under his guidance the guards conducted themselves in the most cool, intrepid, and soldier-like manner; they received very effectual support by a movement of the right of General Coote's brigade. Brigadier-General Hope was wounded in the hand; the army has been deprived of the service of a most active, zealous, and judicious officer.

The loss of the enemy has been great; it is calculated at upwards of three thousand killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. General Roize, who commanded the cavalry, which suffered considerably, was killed in the field. Generals Lanusse and Bodet are since dead of their wounds. I have been informed that several other General Officers, whose names I do not know, have been either killed or wounded.

I cannot conclude this letter without solemnly assuring you, that in the arduous contest in which we are at present engaged, his Majesty's troops in Egypt have faithfully discharged their duty to their country, and nobly upheld the fame of the British name and nation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. H. HUTCHINSON."

the 28th of March.* I believe he was wounded early, but he concealed his situation from those about him, and

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* ORDER OF PROCESSION

At the funeral of the late Right Honourable General Sir R. Abercrombie, which took place at Malta, April, 29, 1801.

A Subaltern's Guard of the Royal Artillery with Arms reversed.
Four Six Pounders drawn by Artillerymen.
Two Ammunition Waggons drawn by Artillerymen.
The Bands of the 35th and 40th Regiments with their Drums muffled,
Playing a Solemn Dirge.

The Guard,
Consisting of Flank Companies of the Garrison,
Under the Command of Colonel M'Alister 35th Regiment.
The Senior Field Officer with Arms reversed.
The Band of the 48th Regiment.
Lt. Col. (now Sir John Swinnerton) Dyer, Aide-de-Camp to the Deceased.
Garrison Chaplain.

Pall Bearers		Pall Bearers
Lt. Col. Gordon, 48th.	THE BODY	Lt. Col. Bentham, R.A.
—— Baylis, 35th.	on a Carriage	—— Kemmis, 48th.
—— Clay, 48th.	drawn by	—— Brown, 35th.
—— Oswald, 35th.	Artillerymen.	—— Brown, 48th.

Major General Pigott Chief Mourner.
Brig. General Moncrief. Maj. General Villette.
Supporters to the Chief Mourner.
A led Saddle Horse fully caparisoned and covered with black.
Servants of the Deceased.

Officers by Corps, youngest of each Corps first.

1. Officers of Maltese Militia.
2. Off. of Mal. Light Inf. Bat. off duty.
3. Officers of Neap. Battalion.
4. Officers of 48th Regiment.
5. Officers of 2d Bat. 40th.
6. Officers of 1st Bat. 40th.
7. Officers of 2d Bat. 35th.
8. Officers of 1st Bat. 35th.
9. Officers of Royal Engineers.

10. Officers

and continued in the field giving his orders with that coolness and perspicuity which had ever marked his character, till long after the action was over, when he fainted through weakness and loss of blood. Were it permitted for a soldier," continues his successor, "to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him, more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country—will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity.*

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10. Officers of the Royal Artillery.
11. Officers of the Royal Navy.
12. Officers of the Commissaries Staff.
13. Officers of the Medical Staff.
14. Officers of the Garrison Military Staff.
15. Officers of the General Military Staff.
16. Principal Maltese Officers of the Civil Government.

At eight o'clock in the morning the colours of the different forts were hoisted half staff high.

The streets through which the procession passed, were lined by the Regiments of the Garrison.

Minute Guns were fired from the Cavaliers of La Valetta.

And lastly, the ships in the harbour fired from the time the body left the palace, until it arrived at the place of interment, which was succeeded by three rounds of eleven cannon.

* The gratitude of the nation has in some measure kept pace with this elegant eulogium, for the family of the deceased General has been ennobled, and public honours have been decreed to his corpse, which we think however ought to have been buried (as most befitting a soldier), on the very spot where he obtained the victory.

General

General Hutchinson, now commander in chief, notwithstanding the late success, did not find himself strong enough to sit down before Alexandria, more especially as he expected the arrival of reinforcements from Europe, and a powerful body of troops in the service of the East India company from Asia. He was not however idle in the mean time, for he immediately commenced a war of posts, and resolved to cut off the enemy in detail. He accordingly dispatched Colonel Spencer, about the 10th of April, with a body composed partly of British troops, and partly of Turkish auxiliaries, for the purpose of forcing the enemy from the town and castle of Rosetta, which commands the navigation of the Nile.

The French, who had about 800 men there, made but a feeble resistance, retiring to the right bank, and leaving a small garrison in the fort, which surrendered on the 19th instant, but three days after the English batteries had opened. By these means the English became masters of the western branch of the Nile, and were enabled to open a communication with the Delta, from which they derived the necessary supplies.

In the mean time the Turks, who had appeared hitherto to have conducted themselves in a dastardly manner, being stimulated by the gallant example of their allies, advanced against the common enemy. On the 8th of May the Grand Vizier reached Belbeis, and on the 16th Tapir Pacha, by his Highness's orders, attacked the enemy: he was afterwards reinforced by Mehèmmed Pacha with five thousand men,

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and finally by the Vizier himself in person; in consequence of which the French were driven beyond El-Hanka. After this they took Fort Lesbie at Damietta, and two smaller forts depending upon it.

While our allies were thus proceeding in a new and unexpected career of success, the English general left his position in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and occupied that of El-Aft, on the 7th of May, which the French had just evacuated. He then advanced against the retreating foe, took the fort of Rahmanich by means of an advanced *corps*, and as the enemy fell back on Cairo, it became necessary to follow them, to cover the Ottoman troops, and also to effect a junction with the detachment expected from India. On the 17th, when encamped at Alkam, a large convoy in its progress to join the French was luckily surprised; but the main body seems to have escaped by means of "a most extraordinary march from Rahmanich to Gizah;" and the Mamalukes, who had during the whole war declared for the strongest party, to the amount of about fifteen hundred cavalry, now went over to General Hutchinson.

In addition to this good fortune, the Commander in Chief received the joyful intelligence that Lieutenant Colonel Murray had arrived at Cossire with a part of the Bombay detachment, and that General Baird was daily expected with the remainder.*

* "*Downing Street, July* 21, 1801.

"A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received at the office of the Right Hon. Lord Hobart,

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It now became evident, notwithstanding Alexandria had not been taken, that the progress of the English

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one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant General the Hon. Sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B. commanding his Majesty's forces in Egypt.

" *Head Quarters, Camp near Alkam, June* 1, 1801.

" My Lord,

" I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the French abandoned the position of El-Aft on the 7th May, which we occupied the same evening; and on the 9th we advanced to Rahmanich, where the French were posted with upwards of three thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry. We at first imagined that they might have endeavoured to have maintained that position; but our corps on the eastern bank of the Nile having got into their rear, took the fort of Rahmanich in reverse, which probably induced the enemy to retire in the night between the 9th and 10th, leaving a garrison in the fort, which surrendered in the morning, amounting to one hundred and ten men, commanded by a Chef de Brigade. We also took the same day about fifty cavalry and three officers coming from Alexandria.

" As the enemy retired towards Cairo, it became necessary to follow them, in order to cover the army of the Grand Vizier, and to secure a junction with the expected reinforcement from India.

" Nothing happened of any importance until the 14th, when we fell in with a valuable convoy of Germs on the Nile. They had come from Cairo down the canal of Menouff, which joins the Damietta and Rosetta branches of the river. From this circumstance they knew nothing of the retreat of General Lagrange from Rahmanich. About one hundred and fifty prisoners fell into our hands, and several heavy guns, some of them intended for the defence of Alexandria. The convoy in itself was very valuable, and is a great loss to the enemy. We found on board all kinds of clothing, wine, spirits, &c. &c. and about five thousand pounds in money.

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English army, although hitherto neither very rapid nor very brilliant, was yet attended with solid and beneficial

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" On the 17th, when encamped at Alkam, we were informed by the Arabs, that a considerable body of French, coming from Alexandria, were advancing towards the Nile, near the spot where the boats of the Capitan Pacha then were. The cavalry were immediately ordered out, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of Brigadier General Doyle, supported by his brigade of infantry. Colonel Cavasier, who commanded the French convoy, as soon as he perceived the boats of the Capitan Pacha, suspected that our army must be near, and therefore retired into the desert, where we followed him. The cavalry came up with him, after a march of about three hours. A flag of truce was sent in to them by Major Wilson of the Hompesch, requiring them to surrender, on condition that their private property should be respected, and that they should be sent to France by the first convenient opportunity. With these terms they complied, and laid down their arms. They amounted in all to about six hundred men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, together with a considerable portion of the dromedary corps, one four-pounder, and five hundred and fifty camels. The prisoners taken are all Frenchmen, and of the best troops they had in Egypt.

" On the 17th of May the enemy retired from the fort of Lisbit, on the Damietta branch, and formed a junction with about two hundred men which they had at Burlos: this fort they also evacuated, and embarked in five small vessels, four of which have been taken and carried into Aboukir Bay; the fifth endeavoured to escape towards Cyprus; but a Turkish frigate was left in chace of her, so that it is more than probable she has shared the same fate.

" The garrisons of the two forts consisted of about seven hundred men; so that in all we have taken, from the 9th to the 20th, near sixteen hundred men, which makes a considerable diminution of the enemy's force in this country.

" The French made a most extraordinary rapid march from

 Rahmanich

beneficial consequences. The public, however, who had been taught by the inconsiderate anticipations of the papers devoted to ministry, to expect the immediate surrender of all the French in Egypt, and the submission of the whole territory, began to murmur at

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Rahmanich to Gizah, where they arrived on the 13th, and immediately crossed the river to Boulac.

"On the 15th they marched to attack the Grand Vizier's army. His highness anticipated their intention, and made a forward movement with a considerable body of cavalry on the night between the 15th and 16th. The armies remained for some hours in presence of each other, when the Ottoman troops attacked at about eight o'clock in the morning, and after an action of seven hours the French retired, having lost between three and four hundred men killed and wounded. They were nearly the same people who had retreated from Rahmanich, and were about four thousand or four thousand five hundred men.

"I congratulate your lordship upon the event of this very important action; I have also much pleasure in informing you, that the Mamelukes, under the orders of Osman Bey (successor of Murad Bey), have joined us, to the amount of about fifteen hundred cavalry, inferior, certainly, to none in the world. I am sanguine enough to hope, that the most serious good effects will arise from this junction, as they have a most intimate knowledge of the country, and the greatest influence amongst the inhabitants.

"I enclose you the capitulation of the fort of Rahmanich, and also a return of the killed and wounded on the 9th of May, which I rejoice has been so very inconsiderable.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "J. Hely Hutchinson.

"*To the Right Hon. Lord Hobart.*

"P. S. A letter has just reached me from Lieutenant Colonel Murray, dated Cossire, the 14th of May, informing me of his arrival with the first division of the Bombay detachment of troops, and that he was in daily expectation of Gen. Baird with the remainder."

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the delays that ensued, when in fact what had been already achieved was to be attributed partly to the extraordinary abilities displayed by General Hutchinson, and partly to the divisions that had taken place in the French camp: it must at the same time be candidly owned, that although Menou, the commander in chief of the enemy, possessed much of the zeal, yet he evinced but little of the talents of his great precursor*.

At length, however, on Saturday August 22, the public were relieved in some measure from the painful anxiety occasioned by the accounts promulgated in France, in consequence of a dispatch which was published next day in an Extraordinary Gazette. In the first letter, dated "June 21,"† General Hutchinson

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* Bonaparte.

† "*Downing Street, August* 23, 1801.

"Dispatches (in duplicate), of which the following are copies, have this day been received at the office of the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant General the Hon. Sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B. transmitted in a letter from the Earl of Elgin to the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury.

"*Extract of a Dispatch from the Earl of Elgin to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Constantinople, July* 18.

"I have the satisfaction of acquainting your lordship, that the enclosed letters to Lord Hobart contain the intelligence of the surrender of Grand Cairo to the combined forces under General Hutchinson, the Vizier, and the Capitan Pacha.

"*Head Quarters, Camp before Gizah, June* 21.

"My Lord,

"I have nothing new or of very essential import to communicate, but I avail myself of the opportunity of a messenger going

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son states, that he was then encamped on the opposite side of the river to Cairo, and that he meant to

to Constantinople to inform you, that we are now encamped nea Gizah, which is on the opposite side of the river to Cairo. We mean to erect batteries in the course of twenty-four hours; it cannot hold out long, as it is a very weak place; but it covers a bridge of communication which the French have over the Nile, and it is therefore essential to us to have it in our possession. This operation cannot last above four or five days at most: I then mean to cross the river and join the army of the Grand Vizier, who is at present encamped very near Cairo; we shall then besiege the place, which is garrisoned by four or five thousand French, but their works are very extended, and would require a much greater number of men to defend them. Great delays have been occasioned in this operation from the low state of the river, and from the Bar of the Nile at Rosetta, which is frequently impassable for ten days together, so that our march has been much retarded. The difficulty of procuring provisions for the army, and the obstacles which we encountered in bringing the heavy artillery up the river (which has not yet been entirely accomplished), have been very great. However, we have now a sufficiency to begin the siege. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "HUTCHINSON.

"*To the Right Hon. Lord Hobart.*"

"*Head Quarters, Camp before Gizah, June 29.*

"MY LORD,

"The combined armies advanced on both sides of the river on the 21st instant. The British troops, and those of his Highness the Capitan Pacha, invested Gizah on the left bank of the Nile, whilst the army of his Highness the Grand Vizier moved forward, and took a position nearly within cannon shot of Cairo. On the 22d, in the morning, the enemy sent out a flag of truce, and informed me, that they wished to treat for the evacuation of Cairo, and the forts thereunto belonging, upon certain conditions. After a negotiation of several days, which was conducted by Brigadier General

to erect batteries in order to take Gizah, as it covered a bridge of communication which the French had

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General Hope with much judgment and ability, they agreed to surrender the town and forts on the conditions which I have the honour to enclose.

"We took possession of the gate of Gizah at five o'clock yesterday evening, and also of the Fort Sulkoski on the Cairo side of the river: hostages have been mutually exchanged, and the final evacuation will take place in about ten days.

"I should suppose that there are near six thousand troops of all kinds in the town, but I speak without a perfect knowledge on the subject, as I have not yet received any returns.

"This has been a long and arduous service: the troops, from the great heat of the weather, the difficulty of the navigation of the river, and the entire want of roads in the country, have suffered a considerable degree of fatigue, but both men and officers have submitted to it with the greatest patience, and have manifested a zeal for the honour of his Majesty's arms that is above all panegyric; the conduct of the soldiers has been orderly and exemplary; and a discipline has been preserved which would have done honour to any troops.

"I am extremely obliged to Lieutenant Colonel Anstruther, Quarter-master General, for the great zeal and ability which he has shewn, under very difficult circumstances, in forwarding the public service. From Generals Cradock and Doyle, who were the general officers employed immediately under my orders, I have derived the greatest assistance, and I beg leave to recommend them as highly deserving his Majesty's favour.

"The exertions of Captain Stevenson of the navy have been extremely laborious and constant during this long march; they have done every thing that was possible to forward our supplies: and indeed, without their powerful aid, it would have been impossible to have proceeded. Your lordship will recollect that the river is extremely low at this season of the year, the mouth of the Nile impassable for days together, and the distance from Rosetta

had thrown over the Nile. After obtaining it, it was his intention to cross the river, and join the army

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to Cairo between 160 and 170 miles. Captain Stevenson has been ably supported by Captains Morrison, Curry, and Hillyar, who were employed under him. The service in which they have been engaged has not been a brilliant one, but I hope it will be recollected that it has been a most useful, and has required constant vigilance and attention: it has lasted now for many weeks; the labour has been excessive, and the fatigue greater than I can express.

"This dispatch will be delivered to you by my Aide-de-Camp, Major Montresor, who has been in the most intimate habits of confidence with me since my arrival in Egypt, and will be able to give your lordship a most perfect account of the situation of affairs in this country. I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection, as an officer of merit, and highly deserving of his Majesty's favour. I have the honour to be, &c.

"J. H. Hutchinson, Major Gen.

"*To the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, &c.*"

"TRANSLATION.

"Convention *for the Evacuation of Egypt by the French and auxiliary troops, under the command of the General of Division Belliard, concluded between Brigadier General Hope, on the part of the Commander in Chief of the British army in Egypt, Osman Bey, on the part of his Highness the Grand Vizier, and Isaac Bey, on the part of his Highness the Capitan Pacha; the Citizens Dongelot, General of Brigade, Morand, General of Brigade, and Tarayre, Chief of Brigade, on the part of the General of Division Belliard, commanding a body of French and auxiliary troops. The Commissioners above named having met and conferred, after the exchange of their respective Powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:*

"Art. I. The French forces of every description, and the auxiliary troops under the command of the General of Division Belliard, shall evacuate the city of Cairo, the citadel, the forts of Boulac, Gizah, and all that part of Egypt which they now occupy.

"II. The

army of the Grand Vizier, for the purpose of besieging Cairo.

"II. The French and auxiliary troops shall retire by land to Rosetta, proceeding by the left bank of the Nile, with their arms, baggage, field artillery, and ammunition, to be there embarked and conveyed to the French ports of the Mediterranean, with their arms, artillery, baggage, and effects, at the expence of the allied powers. The embarkation of the said French and auxiliary troops shall take place as soon as possible, but at the latest within 15 days from the date of the ratification of the present convention.—It is also agreed, that the said troops shall be conveyed to the French ports above mentioned by the most direct and expeditious route.

"III. From the date of the signature and ratification of the present convention, hostilities shall cease on both sides. The fort of Sulkosky, and the gate of the Pyramids, of the town of Gizah, shall be delivered up to the allied army. The line of advanced posts of the armies, respectively, shall be fixed by Commissioners named for this purpose, and the most positive orders shall be given that these shall not be encroached upon, in order to avoid all disputes; and if any shall arise, they are to be determined in an amicable manner.

"IV. Twelve days after the ratification of the present convention, the city of Cairo, the citadel, the forts, and the town of Boulac, shall be evacuated by the French and auxiliary troops, who will retire to Ibrahim Bey, the Isle of Rhoda, and its dependencies, the fort of Foueroy and Gizah, from whence they shall depart as soon as possible, and at the latest in five days, to proceed to the points of embarkation. The Generals commanding the British and Ottoman armies consequently engage that means shall be furnished, at their charge, for conveying the French and auxiliary troops as soon as possible from Gizah.

"V. The march and encampment of the French and auxiliary troops shall be regulated by the Generals of the respective armies, or by the officers named by each party; but it is clearly understood, that, according to this article, the days of march and of

In the second letter, dated June 29, he gives a most satisfactory account of the progress of the English

encampment shall be fixed by the Generals of the combined armies, and consequently the said French and auxiliary troops shall be accompanied on their march by English and Turkish Commissaries, instructed to furnish the necessary provisions during the continuance of their route.

"VI. The baggage, ammunition, and other articles transported by water, shall be escorted by French detachments, and by armed boats belonging to the allied powers.

"VII. The French and auxiliary troops shall be subsisted from the period of their departure from Gizah to the time of their embarkation, conformably to the regulations of the French army; and from the day of their embarkation to that of their landing in France, agreeably to the naval regulations of England.

"VIII. The military and naval commanders of the British and Turkish forces shall provide vessels for conveying to the French ports of the Mediterranean the French and auxiliary troops, as well as all French and other persons employed in the service of the army. Every thing relative to this point, as well as in regard to subsistence, shall be regulated by Commissaries named for this purpose by the General of Division Belliard, and by the naval and military Commanders in Chief of the allied forces, as soon as the present convention shall be ratified. These Commissioners shall proceed to Rosetta or Aboukir, in order to make every necessary preparation for the embarkation.

"IX. The allied powers shall provide four vessels (or more if possible), fitted for the conveyance of horses, water-casks, and forage sufficient for the voyage.

"X. The French and auxiliary troops will be provided by the allied powers with a sufficient convoy for their safe return to France. After the embarkation of the French troops, the allied powers pledge themselves, that to the period of their arrival on the continent of the French republic they shall not be in the least molested; and on his part the General of Division Belliard, and the

lish and Turkish armies, which terminated in the surrender of Cairo in consequence of an honourable capitulation

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the troops under his command, engage that no act of hostility shall be by them committed, during the said period, against the fleet or territories of his Britannic Majesty, of the Sublime Porte, or of their allies. The vessels employed in conveying and escorting the said troops, or other French subjects, shall not touch at any other than a French port, except in cases of absolute necessity. The commanders of the British, Ottoman, and French troops enter reciprocally into the like engagements, during the period that the French troops remain in Egypt, from the ratification of the present convention to the moment of their embarkation. The General of Division Belliard, commanding the French and auxiliary troops, on the part of his government, engages that the vessels employed for their conveyance and protection shall not be detained in the French ports after the disembarkation of the troops; and that their commanders shall be at liberty to purchase, at their own expence, the provisions which may be necessary for enabling them to return. General Belliard also engages, on the part of his government, that the said vessels shall not be molested on their return to the ports of the allied powers, provided they do not attempt, or are made subservient to any military operation.

"XI. All the administrations, the members of the commission of arts and sciences, and in short every person attached to the French army shall enjoy the same advantages as the military. All the members of the said administration, and of the commission of arts and sciences, shall also carry with them not only all the papers relative to their mission, but also their private papers, as well as all other articles which have reference thereto.

"XII. All inhabitants of Egypt, of whatever nation they may be, who wish to follow the French troops, shall be at liberty so to do; nor shall their families, after their departure, be molested, or their goods confiscated.

"XIII. No inhabitant of Egypt, of whatever religion, who may wish to follow the French troops, shall suffer either in person or

capitulation—a capitulation similar in many respects to what had been formally entered into by Sir Sidney Smith

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or property, on account of the connection he may have entered into with the French during their continuance in Egypt, provided he conforms to the laws of the country.

"XIV. The sick who cannot bear removal shall be placed in an hospital, and attended by French medical and other attendants, until their recovery, when they shall be sent to France on the same conditions as the troops. The commanders of the allied armies engage to provide all the articles that may appear really necessary for this hospital; the advances to be made on this account shall be repaid by the French government.

"XV. At the period when the towns and forts mentioned in the present convention shall be delivered up, commissaries shall be named for receiving the ordnance, ammunition, magazines, papers, archives, plans, and other public effects, which the French shall leave in possession of the allied powers.

"XVI. A vessel shall be provided as soon as possible by the naval commanders of the allied powers, in order to convey to Toulon an officer and a commissioner, charged with the conveyance of the present convention to the French government.

"XVII. Every difficulty or dispute that may arise respecting the execution of the present convention shall be determined in an amicable manner by commissioners named on each part.

"XVIII. Immediately after the ratifications of the present convention, all the English or Ottoman prisoners at Cairo shall be set at liberty, and the commanders in chief of the allied powers shall in like manner release the French prisoners in their respective camps.

"XIX. Officers of rank from the English army, from his Highness the Supreme Vizier, and from his Highness the Capitan Pacha, shall be exchanged for a like number of French officers of equal rank, to serve as hostages for the execution of the present treaty. As soon as the French troops shall be landed in the ports of France, the hostages shall be reciprocally released.

"XX. The

Smith for the evacuation of all Egypt, the violation of which on the part of the late ministry, had been supposed to produce the renewal of a long and sanguinary conflict in that part of Africa.

The treaty now entered into with the General of Division Belliard, was censured by many in England, but when the difficulties that had already occurred in the subjugation of Egypt, joined to the strength and resources of the French, are recollected, every discerning man must be rather inclined to praise the *policy* which dictated liberal terms, than to invoke measures of harshness and severity, which would have

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"XX. The present convention shall be carried and communicated by a French officer to General Menou at Alexandria, and he shall be at liberty to accept of it for the French and auxiliary forces (both naval and military) which may be with him at the above-mentioned place, provided his acceptance of it shall be notified to the General commanding the English troops before Alexandria within ten days from the date of the communication being made to him.

"XXI. The present convention shall be ratified by the commanders in chief of the respective armies within 24 hours after the signature thereof."

Signed in quadruplicate, at the place of conference between the two armies, the 17th of June, 1801, or of the siege of Saffar, 1216, or the 8th Messidor, ninth year of the French Republic.

(Signed) J. Hope, Brigadier-General.
Osman Bey.
Isaac Bey.
Donzelot, General de Brigade.
Tarayre, Chef de Brigade.

Approved and ratified the present convention at Cairo, the 9th Messidor, ninth year of the French Republic.

(Signed) Belliard, General de Division.

held

held out no hopes for that part of the enemy's army which had not then surrendered, but on the contrary tended to protract the war, and inspire the French general with new means and new motives for resistance.

It has now become extremely probable, that Egypt will be speedily and entirely subjected, but whether it will be restored in whole, or only in part, to the dominion of its ancient masters,* is a question on which it is impossible at present to decide. It is not difficult to foresee, however, in case of a continuance of success, that the Commander in Chief will rank high among our military leaders, and cannot fail on his return to experience the gratitude of the nation, and be invested with new honours and new employments by his Majesty's ministers.

General Hutchinson, in respect to his person, is a tall, gentlemanlike man, with an animated and dignified countenance. He is exactly five feet eleven inches high, with dark grey eyes, and an aquiline nose.

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* However necessary it may be to drive the enemy out of Egypt, and thus preclude all fears in respect to the *future* safety of our oriental dominions, yet the interests of humanity can scarcely be meliorated by the restoration of power to an ignorant, bigotted, and besotted race, who appear equally incapable and unworthy of improvement.

It is also but just to allow, that the advancement of knowledge and of science has been greatly promoted by the residence of the French in this part of Africa, and that the manner in which they have hitherto governed the natives, confers no discredit on their policy.—*Editor*.

Having

Having travelled much, and seen the best company both at home and abroad, he possesses a pleasant address, and easy and agreeable manners, but he looks considerably older than he really is.

Like most men of fashion in the present age, he sacrificed much of his time to dissipation, and the fascinations of society, in the earlier part of his life. He soon became disgusted however with the career of what is so improperly termed *pleasure*, and possessed a sufficient fund of good sense, and what is still more rare, a sufficient degree of controul over his passions, to enable him to retire to a small house in Nassau street, Dublin, where he resigned himself entirely to study, and acquired that taste for books, those habits of business, and that facility of language, which qualify him in so eminent a degree as an officer, an orator, and a polite and accomplished scholar.

The Hutchinsons have always resembled the *bundle of sticks* in the fable, and attained an encreased degree of strength in consequence of cohesion. No less than three sons of that family were engaged in *affairs of honour* in the course of one single day, in order to vindicate the character of their late father, and on that occasion the subject of the present memoir was not deficient either in spirit or filial affection.*

General H. sat for many years in the Irish parlia-

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* General Hutchinson, to adopt the technical language, *went out* with Sir John Colethurst. The dispute originated during a contested Election.

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ment,* and on the union taking place, for which measure as has been already observed, he was at once an able and an eloquent advocate, he was re-elected for the city of Cork. He has not as yet, however, taken his seat in the Imperial Parliament, in consequence of being absent upon public business.

The General has never been married. A younger brother is so much attached to him, that without possessing any military command, or the remotest prospect of any appointment whatever, he accompanied him during the campaign in Holland, and now, with an unabated zeal highly honourable to the fraternal affection of both, he is along with him in Egypt, unappalled by distance and fatigue, and unterrified by the idea of disease and death.

The subject of these memoirs has already experienced a liberal remuneration on the part of government, having attained the rank of Lieutenant-general† in Egypt, and been complimented with a red ribband.‡

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* General Hutchinson came in originally for Cork, by means of what was then termed the *independent interest.*

† *War Office, May* 26, 1801.

Brevet Major General the Honourable John Hely Hutchinson, to be Lieutenant General in the army serving in the Mediterranean, and in the dominions of the Grand Seignior.

‡ (LONDON GAZETTE.)

Whitehall, May 30, (1801).

The King has been pleased to nominate and appoint Major General the Honourable John Hely Hutchinson to be one of the Knight's Companions of the most Honourable Order of the Bath.

MR.

JAMES MARTIN, Esq. M. P.

INTEGRITY and independence of character have a natural tendency to procure the secret homage of mankind: the good respect them no less as the criterions of private worth than of public happiness; and even bad men, by a kind of necessity of nature, possess a sense of their importance, being compelled in some sort to reverence what they dare not imitate.

In times of declension from public virtue, these qualities are entitled to double consideration, not only because we then more clearly behold the serious consequences of a departure from principle, but because we perceive that the man who determines to preserve his independence must possess a certain degree of magnanimity. "It is noble," as Bishop Hall expresses it, "to stand upright when the world declines."

Under these impressions, we attempt a short memoir of the gentleman whose name stands at the head of this page, as a person not filling indeed any official situation, but yet as one who adorns private life with many virtues, and is conspicuous in the British parliament for such conduct as entitles him to the respect of his country.

Mr. James Martin, member for Tewksbury in Gloucestershire, was born at Overbury in Worcestershire, June 1738, in the same year, the same month, and indeed the very same day as his present Majesty. His father, John Martin, Esq. was a country gentleman

tleman of great respectability and worth, who resided on his own estate at Overbury, and was member for Tewksbury; whose brother James at the same time represented the town of Cambridge; both warmly attached to whig principles. His grandfather was a banker in Lombard Street, and his house of distinguished eminence, not only from the character of the proprietors, but as being one of the oldest banking houses in London. His mother was a Miss Jackson, a lady of respectable family, possessing Sneyd Park, Gloucestershire.

The subject of this memoir, was the youngest of three brothers, John, Joseph, and James. The female branches of the line were numerous. John was a gentleman of great taste and accomplishments, and succeeded his father as member for Tewksbury. Joseph was first member for Gaton, and after the retirement of his elder brother represented Tewksbury, succeeded his uncle in the banking-house, and served the office of Sheriff of the city of London with Mr. Baker, member for Hertfordshire, in 1771, a year much distinguished by political contention. He filled the station with much dignity and splendour; and was universally beloved.

Most of the sisters settled in life, and formed respectable connexions by marriage. One married Dr. Nash, of Beveret in Worcestershire, editor of a splendid edition of Hudibras, and author of an accurate and learned history of Worcestershire. Another married the late distinguished, and in every point of view excellent, Dr. Heberden; a third, Henry Herbert,

bert, Esq. of Mucrus, on the banks of the lake Killarney; a fourth, Sir Nicholas Carey, Bart. of Bedington Hall, near Croydon.

James received his education, first under the Rev. Mr. Bloxham, of Conerton, in Worcestershire, father of the present member for Maidstone; and afterwards under the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Homerton, near London, father of Judge Graham. His education was such as is usually given to an English gentleman, designed to fill a respectable place in society. After this was finished, he spent several years abroad, and made the tour of Europe, being then considered as what is called a fashionable man; and was for many years known also as a keen and intrepid sportsman, a character however that he has long ceased to admire.

After his return to Europe, James resided for many years in the Temple, and is one of the last of the club well known by the name of Daines Barrington's. During this period he passed much time in travelling over his native country, and has visited most of the towns in Great Britain and Ireland.

In 1774 he married Miss Skip, a lady of the most amiable and exemplary character, universally esteemed by those who know her, daughter of the late John Skip, Esq. of Ledbury in Herefordshire, a very ancient family, and lineally descended from Bishop Skip, the first protestant bishop of Hereford.

In 1776 his brother Joseph died, when James succeeded him in the banking-house in Lombard-Street, which he now owns; and on the death of this bro-

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ther, in the year 1776, he was chosen member for Tewkesbury, which he has represented in six parliaments; and though not one of the oldest men in parliament, is now one of the oldest members.

How he has conducted himself in the House of Commons is well known to those who, for these twenty-five years past, have more minutely attended to parliamentary proceedings than the writer of these memoirs. He has been uniformly on the opposition side of the house, though he has occasionally voted with the ministry. Simplicity and modesty characterize his manner, firmness and an attachment to his own principles, his conduct. His speeches are always short, but generally pertinent, and discover good sense accompanied with the seriousness of conviction. He has been often heard to say, it is improbable that either side of the house should be always right, and that each member ought therefore, in every question, most conscientiously to follow his best judgment. His vote, however, has been uniformly given on that side which he supposed to embrace the cause of humanity, justice, liberty, and human happiness: and as the principles of the opposition have in his judgment most of these qualities, he has most frequently voted on that side, and indeed with considerable ardour. On whatever side, however, he has given his vote, he has always been considered, even by both parties, as delivering the unbiassed opinion of an honest man. His conduct in the American war, more particularly, is well

known,

known, for it gained him the esteem and respect of all the friends of public liberty.

In the debates on the present most awful conflict, Mr. Martin has sometimes given his vote so as not to have afforded entire satisfaction to those who admired his general conduct. But such persons, taking into consideration the serious aspect of the times, the intricacy and perplexity of circumstances as connected with supposed consequences to this country, and the rule laid down by Mr. Martin, that every man should follow his own conviction, still put a candid and generous interpretation on his conduct, an interpretation that leaves them possessed of the conviction, that Mr. Martin has followed his best, though perhaps a mistaken judgment, and that he has in no instance made a surrender either of his principles or consistency.

As a man of business, Mr. Martin is ready, punctual, and attentive. He is possessed of great modesty, but is of a candid and social disposition, and, therefore, though in large and mixed companies he seldom appears forward, yet in the company of two or three friends, or when travelling, he is known, by those who are best acquainted with him, to be exceedingly agreeable, for beside that his manners are placid, he possesses a good taste, has a true relish for the beauties of poetry, and is possessed of much literary information.

In private life no man is more truly estimable than Mr. J. Martin, as a husband, a father, a neighbour, and a friend. In the country, we understand, he is

 universally

universally beloved by his tenants, and respected by the neighbouring gentry. He possesses a respect for the Scripture, and is regular and exact in family-worship; but he is a stranger to bigotry, no stickler for forms, no friend to mysticism and incomprehensibility. In short, he is in religion what he is in politics,

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri."

The appearance and manners of Mr. Martin are those of a man who feels easy and happy in himself; and he has reason to be happy in his family. He has three sons and three daughters, all of whom are very worthy and promising young people.

DR. ABRAHAM REES.

LEWIS REES, the father of the subject of this memoir, was the most popular minister among the protestant dissenters in Montgomeryshire, North Wales, and retained his popularity and usefulness to a very advanced age. Between sixty and seventy years the principality was witness to his indefatigable labours, and wherever he preached very large assemblies of auditors were collected. When he first settled in North Wales the country was, with regard to religion, in a state of extreme ignorance, for which it is by no means difficult to account. For many years after Wales was incorporated with England, great pains were taken to eradicate the Welch language, and by a particular statute in the reign of Henry the Eighth

Eighth it was enacted, that "no man that used that language could enjoy any office or fees under the crown." Though the stigma thus fixed on the language of this hardy race of ancient Britons produced no material change among the generality of the Welch, yet it did not fail of exciting, in a considerable degree, the ambition of those who were best capable of instructing in the sound principles of morality and religion the great mass of the people. Looking to the favour and preferment which always attach to those who readily acquiesce in the measures of a court, many of their ecclesiastical guides would either cease to labour in the vineyard of their heavenly master, or would deliver their instructions in an unknown tongue. It is true, that after the Reformation, both under the auspicious reign of Elizabeth, and during the profligate manners which seemed to have invaded all ranks of the people under Charles the Second, the Welch language was commanded to be used in all the churches in Wales where that language was commonly understood. To counterbalance the good effect which these ordinances were calculated to produce, it has been long the custom and habit of inducting to the best preferments persons who were absolutely ignorant of the Welch language: and although the illegality of these presentations is generally admitted, yet it is but about thirty years since that a very spirited appeal was made to the public respecting this evil by a gentleman of Wales. He deprecated in an eloquent style, and with sound argument, the consequences of such presentations, inasmuch as the gentlemen of

that country had no other means of providing for the younger branches of their family. From trade and commerce he considered them as excluded by their birth and rank: by their situation they must be ever unknown to men in place and power; if therefore the English and Scotch were promoted in Wales, it must be to the neglect of those who had, for a course of years, been curates.

Upon secular principles this argument will be admitted as unanswerable: but in a religious point of view the practice complained of was to the last degree censurable. Persons thus selected as the clergy of an established religion were totally incompetent to the high office delegated to them: the motives by which they were actuated in accepting the charge admitted not even of a doubt; they were in the strictest sense of the phrase the hireling shepherds alluded to in the gospel. The care then of the Welch churches would devolve upon men, who, for the sake of gaining a moderate subsistence, must serve two, three, or even four congregations, and those at the distance of several miles from each other. Under such circumstances the duties of their office must be hurried over in a hasty and slovenly manner: the people could derive but little advantage from public instruction, and the more important benefits which will accrue to the rising generation from private teaching, and the example of a living instructor, must be wholly unknown to them.

To these defects in the administration of the national religion may be ascribed that ignorance which generally prevailed in North Wales about the beginning

ginning of the last century; and to the same causes we may date the rapid progress of methodism in that country, and the extravagant frensies and flights of enthusiasm which even at this period are practised by great multitudes of the lower classes of the Welch. Ignorant of what true religion is, and what it requires of those who profess it, and feeling no interest in services performed by persons, who, in the exercise of them, manifest no sensibility themselves, they are easily led away by teachers whose apparent zeal is considered as an equivalent for all other deficiencies, and who delude their followers with an idea that they are deputed by Heaven to perform those duties which are strangely neglected by the established clergy.

The *Jumpers* in Wales have started up as a sect within the last half century, and though there is scarcely any absurdity that does not extend itself beyond the country in which it originated, yet we believe that *Jumping*, as an act of religious worship, has never passed the boundaries of Wales. Whence the practice originated we cannot distinctly trace; but by those who have been the witnesses of the indecorous scene it is thus described:—At the time of divine worship the people accustom themselves to make loud groans, and to utter short exclamations: their teachers labour, by vociferation and violent actions, to work up their auditors into a fit disposition for these extravagant clamours and gestures; and when they have succeeded, a signal is given by which they understand that the devotions of the day are to be concluded with antics, not only discordant to the

 nature

nature and solemnities of religion, but totally unbefitting the dignity of human beings. The ministers who excite these sallies of enthusiasm seldom engage in them: having gained their end, they retire from the scene of confusion, exulting, probably, at the impression they are able to make on the deluded people, who will continue in the act for two or three hours, sometimes during half the night.

Mr. Lewis Rees, during the whole of his ministry, discouraged in his followers every species of enthusiasm, but his zeal in defence of the doctrines of Christianity was eminently distinguished. In the laborious discharge of all the duties pertaining to a Christian minister he was singularly assiduous and indefatigable. The insults which he frequently experienced from the ignorance of his countrymen excited his pity and sorrow, but had no effect in abating his zeal. To avoid the assaults and indignities which were aimed at him by the bigot and fanatic, who even threatened his life, he travelled from place to place in the darkness of night. On Sundays, and during the hours of leisure on other days, he preached to crowded audiences; and he neglected no fit opportunity which presented itself of instructing in virtue and the Christian religion the children and younger branches of those families who attended upon his ministry. Such was his success, that he established large congregations in various places, where there were but a very few individuals disposed to think upon religion, and where he began his labours at the hazard of his life. His name, we are well informed, is now held in veneration by the de-

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scendants of those who were his enemies and persecutors; and such was the effect of his public ministry and private instructions, that the minds of the great mass of the people were enlightened, and their dispositions meliorated, in the course of a few years, to a degree scarcely conceivable. After having spent many years of the most vigorous and active part of his life in this scene of labour and danger, and having laid the foundation of many dissenting congregations in North Wales, he removed to Glamorganshire, where he he spent his remaining years, an eminently popular and useful preacher. His death, which happened within the last two years, was lamented by all those with whom he was immediately connected, and his name will be long held in remembrance by a great number of persons, who, in every part of the principality, feel many obligations to him for the virtuous habits and religious principles which they have imbibed, and under the impression of which they are passing serene and happy lives. Having thus paid our tribute of respect to distinguished worth and usefulness in the character of Mr. Lewis Rees, we shall now proceed with such an account of his son as we have been able to collect.

Mr. Abraham Rees was born in the county of Montgomery, and attained, at the best grammar-schools in North Wales, a competent share of classical learning, and the rudiments of mathematics, particularly by means of the instruction of Dr. Jenkins, who afterwards removed to Carmarthen, and officiated

officiated as tutor to a respectable academy belonging to the protestant dissenters in that place. We have not been able to ascertain at what period Mr. Rees left his native country, but we find him, while a very young man, pursuing his academical studies, with a view to the ministry among the protestant dissenters, under the tuition of Dr. Jennings and Dr. Savage: the former of these gentlemen is well known by a small but very useful treatise on the use of the globes, and by a course of lectures on the Jewish antiquities, which was published in two volumes octavo after his death by the learned Dr. Furneaux. Dr. Savage, though known to the public as the author only of some single sermons, was highly esteemed as a man of deep research and learning, an able tutor, and an useful preacher.

At the close of Mr. Rees's academical course Dr. Jennings died, and a new arrangement having taken place in the conduct of the academy, Dr. Savage was nominated by the trustees of the institution to the theological chair. Dr. Kippis, whose lectures and general conduct conciliated the esteem and promoted the improvement of his pupils, was appointed classical and philological tutor; and Mr. Rees, from the situation of a pupil, was appointed professor in mathematics and natural philosophy. To these studies he had devoted as much of his time as his other engagements, and his views as a candidate for the ministry, would allow. This academy, or rather dissenting college, was at that time established at Hoxton, in the vicinity of the metropolis; and Mr.

Rees

Rees was entrusted, at a very early period of life, with the arduous and important office of resident tutor, the duties of which he continued to discharge with credit and assiduity for considerably more than twenty years.

In collecting facts necessary to illustrate the character of a gentleman who fills one of the most respectable situations among the dissenters of London, it occurred to the writer of this article, that a brief account of the history and principles of the dissenters might not be unacceptable to the public. It was the complaint of Dr. Edmund Calamy, more than a century ago, that "to write of nonconformists and dissenters is, in the esteem of some men, to write of schismatics and rebels: wit and malice, interest and power, have jointly conspired against them."* The dissenters of succeeding times have also had reason to complain of the usage which they have experienced in the profession of principles as honourable to themselves as they are compatible with the interests of the best regulated society. Their adoption of these principles has been ascribed to unworthy motives, and their attachment to them has been denominated perverseness and obstinacy. It is, however, well known, that the principles of nonconformity were forced upon our ancestors by the interference of secular power; the intolerance of an arbitrary Queen; and the tyrannical measures of succeeding princes, some of whom were pedantic bigots, and others licentious profligates.

* See Calamy's Ejected Ministers, vol. ii. Preface.

During

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in which the royal prerogative was carried to its utmost limits, there were found many daring spirits who questioned the right of the sovereign to prescribe and dictate to her subjects what principles of religion they should profess, and what forms they ought to adhere to. The ornaments and habits worn by the clergy in the preceding reign, when the Romish religion and rites were triumphant, Elizabeth was desirous of preserving in the protestant service. This was the cause of great discontent among a large body of her subjects: multitudes refused to attend at those churches where the habits and ceremonies were used; the conforming clergy they treated with contumely; and, from the superior purity and simplicity of the modes of worship to which they adhered, they obtained the name of *Puritans*. The Queen made many attempts to repress every thing that appeared to her as an innovation in the religion established by her authority, but without success: by her almost unlimited authority she readily checked open and avowed opposition, but she could not extinguish the principles of the Puritans, "by whom alone," according to Mr. Hume, "the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved, and to whom the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution."* Some secret attempts that had been made by them to establish a separate congregation and discipline had been carefully repressed by the strict hand which Elizabeth

* See Hume's History of England, vol. v. p. 183, 8vo. edit. 1789.

held

held over all her subjects. The most therefore that they could effect was to assemble in private houses, for the purposes of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences. These practices were at first connived at, but afterwards every mean was taken to suppress them, and the most cruel methods were made use of to discover persons who were disobedient to the royal pleasure.

Notwithstanding the severities exercised against the Puritans during the reign of Elizabeth, and the hatred which her successor James bore towards them, their numbers seem to have increased, but they did not pretend to any open separate worship or discipline: they, for the most part, attended upon the services of the established religion, though they continually protested against the ceremonies and habits made use of in them.

Towards the middle of Charles the Second's reign, great numbers of them being highly dissatisfied with the religious and civil establishments of the country, and not willing to incur the penalties to which an open separation from the church would infallibly have exposed them, shipped themselves off for America; and multitudes of others, among whom were the great leaders of the party, Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, had resolved to abandon their native country, for a land in which they might enjoy full liberty of conscience, when they were stopped and detained by an order of council.

It would be incompatible with the limits assigned to this memoir, to follow the steps of the Puritans

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during the remainder of this reign, or through the protectorate of Cromwell which had preceded it. It will be sufficient for our purpose to observe, that amidst the contentions that shook the whole realm, the Puritans lost their name, and were distributed under different leaders, who formed parties that were denominated Presbyterians and Independents, the former had the courage to oppose and protest openly against the trial and condemnation of the unfortunate Charles; at their own peril they presented a bold remonstrance to the general and council of war, the ruling party of the day, warning them in the name of God, and conjuring them in the most solemn manner to desist from their violent proceedings against the dethroned monarch: and it was not till the Protector had pulled down the Presbyterians that he ventured to destroy the king.* It is equally certain that the Presbyterians were the chief agents in restoring Charles II. to the throne; it is true they exacted of him the solemn promise, that he would allow liberty of conscience, and that no man should be disquieted for difference of opinion in matters of religion, which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom. Two years, however, had scarcely elapsed before this profligate prince forgot his promises, and violated the solemn oaths by which he had bound himself: he caused the act of uniformity † to be passed into a law, by

* Echard's History of England.

† By the act of uniformity, it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained if he had not before received episcopal ordination:

by which two thousand of the Presbyterian clergy were cast out of their livings, and exposed with their suffering families to innumerable hardships. The jails in all parts of the kingdom were soon filled with those very persons who had been most active in the restoration of monarchy; their houses were pillaged, and their families reduced to the greatest distress.

To this act of wanton cruelty must be ascribed the open separation of the Protestant dissenters from the established church. The distinguishing principles of nonconformity, similar to those of the reformation from popery, are the unalienable right of private judgment,

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dination:—that he should declare his unfeigned assent to every thing contained in the book of Common Prayer:—that he should take the oath of canonical obedience:—that he should *abjure* the solemn league and covenant, which the king had sworn to maintain:—and that he should renounce the principle of taking arms on any pretence whatsoever against the king or any persons commissioned by him. Upon this last clause the celebrated Mr. Locke makes the following observations.

"By the act of uniformity, says that great man, all the clergy of England are obliged to subscribe and declare, *that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatever to take arms against the king.* This they readily complied with; (referring to those who kept in their livings) for you must know that sort of men are taught rather to obey than understand. And yet that Bartholomew-day was *fatal* to our church and religion, by throwing out a very great number of worthy, pious, orthodox divines, who could not come up to this oath and other things in that act. And so great was the zeal in carrying on this church affair, and so blind in the obedience required, that if you compute the time of passing this act, with that allowed for the clergy to subscribe the book of Common Prayer thereby established, you will find it could not be printed and distributed so as that one man in forty could have seen and read the book they did so perfectly assent and consent to."[1]

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and the sole legislative and sovereign authority of Christ in the christian church. In the adoption and avowal of these principles, dissenters maintain that the civil magistrate has no just claim or dominion over conscience, so as to impose creeds on the faith or religious ceremonies and forms of worship on the observance of his subjects. Whether they approve of established doctrines and ceremonies, or not, they apprehend the imposition of them by acts of authority, and the enforcement of them by civil sanctions, to be inconsistent with the rights of conscience, the nature of religion, the authority of Christ, the sufficiency of scripture as the directory of faith and practice, and the enjoyment of christian liberty. These were the principles of the reformation from popery, and by a reference to them the first reformers are completely justified, though, perhaps, neither they nor the original dissenters understood the full extent to which the discussion of succeeding ages has carried them. An adherence to these truths, which none can fairly controvert, is the distinguishing tenet of all the regular dissenters of modern times.

These indeed were the leading principles of the old Puritans, at a time when they did not feel the necessity of openly separating from the established church: for the free exercise of these many actually sailed to the continent of America, and many others intended to do the same: and it was either for the purpose of sacrificing these principles or the men who held them that the act of uniformity was passed. The majority of the established clergy admitted the right of the sovereign's interference, subscribed to articles which

which they had never seen, nor could see, till two or three weeks after subscription, and kept in their livings: a glorious minority, and that not contemptible in point of numbers, but whom with respect to talents, learning, and integrity, it would disgrace even to compare with the majority, preferred poverty and even death to a surrender of the rights of conscience. Two thousand of the clergy were ejected from their livings on the 24th of August 1662, and it has been fairly estimated, that during the inglorious reign of Charles IId. eight thousand Protestant dissenters perished in prison by their sufferings on a religious account. For it was deemed not sufficient to eject these clergymen, but the most penal statutes were made to prevent them and their adherents from worshipping God in their own way.* And from that time to the present, though the situation of dissenters has been perpetually varying by different statutes enacted in different reigns, which it would be impossible to describe in a short compass: yet pains have always been taken by the establishment to keep them dissenters still. At no period of our history have the times been sufficiently favorable to the rights of private judgment, so as to obliterate that line of demarkation, by which those who are contemptuously termed sectaries might enjoy all the natural rights and privileges of Britons.

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* To speak any thing derogatory of the Common Prayer, was punished for the first offence with a year's imprisonment; and the second offence with imprisonment for life: the meeting for religious worship in any separate assemblies, was punished with severe fines, imprisonment, and banishment.

The dissenters, in common with their fellow subjects, are bound to contribute their share in support of the church establishment, from which, they contend, they can derive no benefit: besides which the support of their own clergy, and the education of young men designed for the ministry among them, devolve wholly upon themselves. The doors of our public universities being shut upon dissenters, or, which amounts to the same thing, being opened only on terms to which they cannot concede; we find within the last century many respectable colleges supported by the dissenters, and consecrated almost entirely to the education of young men of talents and good morals for the Christian ministry. Such was that at Carmarthen already mentioned; and we believe that it was at an institution of this kind, though at an earlier period, and when it was established in Radnorshire, that the venerable apostle of liberty the late excellent Dr. Price, received a considerable part of his education. Such also was the academy at Tewksbury under the Rev. Samuel Jones, a man of high celebrity, of profound learning, and the most extensive moral excellence.

In speaking of this great and good man, as "*one Jones*," the editors of the late Archbishop Secker's sermons, one of whom was the present Bishop of London, have betrayed either inexcusable ignorance of his talents and character, or a culpable disregard of that decorum which should ever distinguish the enlightened and candid biographer.

Such was the attention of Mr. Jones to the morals of

of his pupils, and to their progress in literature, and such the skill and discernment with which he directed their studies, that some of the brightest ornaments of the established church have thought it the glory of their lives that they were in early life placed under so able and accomplished a tutor. Among the pupils of Mr. Jones were Mr. Joseph Butler, afterwards bishop of Durham, and Mr. Secker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.*

We might mention many other institutions devoted to the same purposes, which during the last century have risen, have flourished, and have fallen. But we shall notice those only with which the subject of our memoir was connected. Among many learned and excellent characters who presided over that which was established at Hoxton, we feel ourselves called upon to mention Mr. John Eames, a gentleman distinguished in his day as a mathematician and natural philosopher; he was highly esteemed by Sir Isaac Newton, and was of great assistance to him in some of his experiments: to the learned world he is well known as having been one of the persons who undertook the abridgment of some of the earlier volumes of the transactions of the Royal Society, of which body he was a very respectable and valuable member.

In the year 1785,† Dr. Savage and Dr. Kippis resigned their connection with the academy at Hoxton, and Dr. Rees induced, perhaps, by the desire of more

* See Sermons on several subjects by Secker, 1770.

† See the life of Dr. Savage prefixed to a volume of posthumous Sermons, by Dr. Toulmin.

leisure for his other pursuits, gave in his resignation at the same time. With the labours of these gentlemen terminated the existence of the institution, to the regret of many of the best friends to the dissenters. During the time that the academy was under their conduct it maintained a high reputation, and many vacant congregations among dissenters of the more liberal sentiments, directed their views to it for a supply of ministers; and there are at this time no small number of ministers filling very honourable and useful stations in London and other parts of the kingdom, who were educated at this seminary.

Upon the discontinuance of this institution, another was formed on a more extensive scale at Hackney, called the New College. Of the history of this institution, the dissenters are too well acquainted to make it necessary to say more, than that during the seven or eight years of its existence, Dr. Rees filled the respectable office of one of its principal tutors. That these excellent institutions should have fallen into decay one after the other, may and will excite sentiments of regret and concern among the liberal; but when it is considered that almost all of them have depended principally upon the support of individuals for original and continued existence; that as these change their places or are removed by death, it is frequently found difficult and sometimes impossible to excite in others a lively interest in the same cause; that in none of them was there ever a fund appropriated to the support of the tutors, or even any thing like a liberal remuneration of their labours: when

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these and other causes are taken into consideration, no person will be surprized that dissenting colleges have never had that permanent stability which is the glory of Oxford and Cambridge.

Having in this digression overshot all chronological order, we must return to Mr. Rees, whom we left at his acceptance of the tutorship at Hoxton, in which situation he found his time so fully occupied, that he declined the charge of a congregation, in order that he might have at that early period of his life, more extensive opportunities for pursuing his studies, and laying a foundation of those various branches of learning for which he is now justly distinguished.

It is in general a great disadvantage to young dissenting ministers, that almost as soon as they have completed their course of academical studies, they are called to settle with congregations; the duties of which, requiring them to compose two sermons in each week besides other services, leave little or no time on their hands in which they may successfully pursue the objects of literature and general knowledge. The younger clergy in the established church are not always expected to preach sermons of their own composition only; but among the dissenters there are very few instances in which a minister delivers other sermons than those that are the productions of his own pen: it is in general considered as an indispensable duty binding upon them from the very nature of their office.

Considering the advantages that accrue to young men, who, with a thirst for knowledge have leisure

also to pursue that tract of reading to which their minds incline, we cannot but applaud the motives which led Mr. Rees to decline the charge of a congregation for the first few years after he had commenced his career as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy.

The exact period of Mr. Rees's settlement as pastor to the congregation of Protestant dissenters at St. Thomas's, Southwark, we have not been able to ascertain, though we know that it was here he commenced the regular duties of that important office. He succeeded the Rev. Henry Read, a gentleman of singular integrity, and of such great popularity as a preacher, that for many years he was obliged to take his station in the pulpit for nearly half an hour before the commencement of the service, on account of the crowds of auditors who literally blocked up the aisles of the meeting. In connection with this congregation, we cannot forbear mentioning the name of Mr. Vincent a predecessor of these gentlemen, who, during the plague which laid waste the metropolis, never deserted his duty, but, while most of his brethren fled from the pestilentious disease, continued visiting the sick, affording them all the consolation and assistance in his power.

In the course of Mr. Rees's ministration at St. Thomas's, the society prospered to a considerable degree; and after having sustained for several years his connection with it honourably and successfully, he was invited to take the charge of the congregation at the Old Jewry in Cheapside. Happy as he had ever felt

felt himself among his friends at St. Thomas's, yet the prospect of a situation more agreeable to his views, and of more extended usefulness, though, at the time, by no means more lucrative, he resigned his situation in Southwark, and retired with the regret and respect of those among whom he had laboured as a diligent and faithful preacher so many years.

For his great services in the cause of literature, as a preacher; an instructor of young men in various branches of science; and an author, Mr. Rees had, some years before he quitted his connection with the society at St. Thomas's, received in a way which did honour to the donors as well as to his own reputation, a diploma from the University of Edinburgh.

About the year 1776, the proprietors of Chambers's Cyclopædia or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, having in vain sought after a person capable of incorporating in one work the original dictionary of two volumes folio; and the supplement consisting of two other volumes, together with all those improvements in science which a period of thirty years had added to the stock of scientific knowledge, at length pitched upon Dr. Rees as a person in every respect qualified for so arduous and important a work. "This," says the late venerable Dr. Kippis, "was a happy circumstance both for themselves and the public at large. It would have been difficult to have found a single person that would have been more equal to the completing of the Cyclopædia than Dr. Rees; who to a capacious mind, a large compass of general knowledge, and an unremitting application, unites that intimate acquaintance

with all the branches of mathematics and philosophy, without which the other qualifications would be ineffectual. The success of the work thus improved and digested into one alphabet, hath exceeded the most sanguine expectations. The names, therefore, of Chambers and Rees will be handed down with reputation to posterity, the first as the original author, and the second as the completer of so grand an undertaking."* Such was the opinion given of Dr. Rees as the editor of the Cyclopædia, by his friend and colleague during the progress of the work through the press. Testimonies equally honourable, and still more flattering to an author, are to be found in all our literary periodical publications, which at the completion of the Cyclopædia undertook to canvass its merits. The very extensive circulation of this work, and the loud demand which the public makes for a new edition, of which we shall hereafter take notice, are perhaps the best proofs of its intrinsic excellence. Nevertheless the opinion given of it in two sentences of the Monthly Review is so perfectly just, and so well adapted to speak the feelings of all those who are intimately acquainted with the merits of the Cyclopædia, that we cannot forbear transcribing them.

"When we consider the variety and magnitude of a work, which, like this, is adapted to readers of every sort, and which contains every thing relative to science that hath hitherto been published, we admire the courage of the man who could undertake a compilement of such great importance, and formed on so extensive a scale; but our admiration is increased to astonishment when

* See Biographia Britannica. Art. Chambers.

when we perceive how greatly our learned editor hath improved the original plan, and that by securing the approbation of the judicious and candid he has fully maintained the credit and reputation that the public, for above half a century, had deservedly and liberally allowed to Mr. Chambers's Cyclopædia. To give a particular circumstantial detail of every article, or every class, cannot be expected. We can with propriety assure our readers, that, as a repository or storehouse of the arts and sciences, the performance before us is every way entitled to a place in the library of the philosopher, the artist, and the man of polite literature; and we think the learned world under considerable obligations, both to the proprietors and the editor, for producing to them a work of such general and important utility."*

Dr. Rees has now been settled nearly twenty years as pastor to the congregation at the meeting-house in the Old Jewry: in this important charge he succeeded the late Mr. White and Dr. Amory,† gentlemen highly distinguished among the dissenters as scholars and preachers. Under Dr. Rees the society has prospered and increased: his discourses from the pulpit are argumentative, interesting, and instructive; his manner and elocution are serious and highly impressive. In the course of his ministry he has published several single sermons on different occasions. Some of the more distinguished of them are,

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* See Monthly Review, vol. lxxv.

† Dr. Thomas Amory was educated under Mr. Henry Grove, author of a treatise on Moral Philosophy, whom he succeeded as principal tutor in the academy at Taunton. About the year 1760 he became afternoon preacher at the meeting in the Old Jewry. He was one of the committee appointed by the dissenters, in 1772, to procure an extension of the act of toleration. His Sermons, in two volumes, shew that he was an able divine. He was author of the memoirs of Mr. Grove, Dr. Benson, and Dr. Chandler.

a Sermon

a Sermon preached at Salters' Hall, entitled, "The Obligation and Importance of searching the Scriptures, as a Preservative from Popery;" a Sermon preached before the Supporters of the New College, Hackney, at the Old Jewry, entitled, "The Advantages of Knowledge illustrated and recommended:" and funeral sermons occasioned by the death of the Rev. Robert Robinson, of Cambridge; the Rev. Dr. Kippis,* his friend and colleague at the colleges at

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* After having delineated the character of Dr. Kippis, he says, "Such are the general outlines of the character and labours of our deceased friend. The portrait, I am sensible, is not sufficiently just to the original. In delineating a character, which exhibits so many excellencies and so few defects, none can suspect me of approaching to adulation. My respect for him was great. I honoured him as a father. I loved him as a brother. But my affection, I am confident, has not misled my judgment. By the favour of Providence, which marks the bounds of our habitation, I was led in early life into an intimate acquaintance with him. Our acquaintance, as co-tutors and coadjutors in public business, ripened into an established friendship; and our friendship continued, without so much as a momentary interruption, and with increasing attachment, for more than thirty-two years, to the day of his death. It must have been my own fault if I have not derived advantage from his extensive literary knowledge, from the wisdom of his counsel, and from the exemplariness of his conduct. No apology, I trust, will be thought necessary for introducing myself on this occasion. As it was my ambition to cultivate the friendship I enjoyed, it is my pride to have it publicly known, that I valued that friendship as one of the chief honours and pleasures of my life. The friend I have lost cannot be easily replaced." This passage affords a specimen of Dr. Rees's manner as a writer, while it exhibits his character and feelings as a friend. The sermon may be referred to for a neat sketch of Dr. Kippis's life and labours. See also the Annual Necrology for 1797 and 1798.

Hoxton

Hoxton and Hackney; and the Rev. Dr. Flexman. Besides his constant labours as a preacher, an author, and a tutor, Dr. Rees was, and still is, assiduous in his attendance in the various connexions which he sustains as a member of the Presbyterian board;* as one of the trustees of the late Dr. Williams's property;† as one of the general body of associated ministers;

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* The Presbyterian board consists of the ministers and representatives of several congregations in London, which by public annual collections and subscriptions are enabled to afford relief and assistance to a great many ministers in the country, whose annual income is utterly inadequate to the support of themselves and families. From the same fund several young men designed for the ministry are materially assisted in the prosecution of their studies.

† Dr. Daniel Williams was born at Wrexham in Denbighshire, about the year 1644: he was remarkable for his early application to study. In the course of his life he was chaplain to the countess of Meath, and occasional preacher in Dublin and other parts of Ireland. About the year 1687 he came back to and settled in London. In the beginning of the last century he was created a doctor in divinity by the universities of Dublin and Glasgow. He died in the year 1716 in possession of considerable property, the greater part of which he invested in trust for charitable purposes. Dr. Rees is one of the present trustees, which consist of about twenty persons, who are either dissenting ministers, or the most respectable persons belonging to their congregations. The interest of Dr. Williams's estate is applied to the support of some schools in Wales, and of dissenting ministers, and the widows of dissenting ministers, in the united kingdoms.

Dr. Williams left his library for public use, which is preserved in a commodious house in Redcross-Street, Cripplegate, and which, by application to any of the trustees, may be consulted four days in every week. The trustees have also power to lend any of the books under certain restrictions.

nisters; and as a friend and supporter of the fund which was projected by the late Dr. Chandler,* and which is wholly devoted to the better maintenance of the widows and orphans of those ministers, who at their decease are unable to provide for their subsistence. Dr. Rees has also been of great use in forwarding the views of the "Working Orphan School in the City Road,† as well as a considerable benefactor in

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The collection of books in Dr. Williams's library has been greatly augmented by considerable donations of liberal-minded persons, and by presents from authors of their respective works in every department of literature. It is said to consist of eighteen thousand volumes: many of them are copies of works which are now become very scarce, in which the modern historian and critic will find ample materials to assist and elucidate their various researches.

A new edition of the catalogue belonging to this library was printed the beginning of this year for the use of the trustees; and copies of it have been sent to most of the public libraries, and to many of our most celebrated literary characters.

* Dr. Chandler, many years pastor of the congregation in the Old Jewry, was a man of very superior talents and profound learning. On the death of King George the Second he published a sermon, in which he compared that prince to King David. This gave rise to a pamphlet entitled "The History of the Man after God's own Heart," in which the author exhibited King David as an example of perfidy, lust, and cruelty, and complained of the insult that had been offered to the memory of the late British monarch by Dr. Chandler's parallel between him and the King of Israel. This attack led the Doctor to publish "A Review of the History of the Man after God's own Heart, &c." and afterwards a very elaborate "critical History of the Life of David," which has been considered, in many respects, as a masterpiece of criticism. Dr. Chandler is also known by many other valuable theological works.

† The Working Orphan School is an institution established in the year 1760 at Hoxton, for the maintenance, instruction, and

employment

various ways to several other charitable institutions belonging to the protestant dissenters.

Of Dr. Rees's sentiments as a politician it may be observed, that though he has never taken any very active part in this line, yet he has uniformly shewn himself friendly to those principles which placed the Brunswick family on the throne of these realms, and is a warm advocate for the general principles of liberty.*

With regard to his theological opinions, Dr. Rees avows himself an Unitarian of the old school; claiming his right to this appellation, though he does not adopt the sentiments of those who have lately appropriated the distinction to themselves concerning the person of Christ. Whilst he admits the pre-existent dignity of Jesus Christ, he maintains the unity and

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employment of orphans, and other poor children. It is now conducted with the greatest respectability in the City Road, and is supported principally by the voluntary contributions of dissenters and other liberal-minded persons.

* The following passage, taken from one of Dr. Rees's printed sermons will illustrate his political sentiments:

"I shall only add, that the late victory on the coast of Africa, so important in itself, so beneficial in its consequences, and so honourable to all who were engaged in achieving it, will bring to our grateful recollection the glorious *first* of August, which has long been celebrated as the æra of the accession of his Majesty's family to the throne of these realms, and by none of his Majesty's most loyal subjects more sincerely and more joyfully than by PROTESTANT DISSENTERS. They have thus testified their approbation of the civil constitution of their country, and on all necessary occasions they have been amongst the most zealous and active in evincing their attachment to it, and their desire of its perpetuity." See "*The Privileges of Britain.*"

supremacy

supremacy of God, and considers him the sole object of religious worship.

On other subjects of theological controversy, he ranks with those who are usually denominated the liberal dissenters. His sermons are seldom devoted to controversy, but to moral and religious instruction. He is neither a materialist nor necessarian, and in opposition to opinions that distinguish persons of this description, he is often explicit, and always decided, whilst he lives in habits of intimate friendship with many of this class, whom, in common with all good men, he esteems and honours.

Such is the sketch of the useful life and labours of the Rev. Dr. Abraham Rees, who, on account of the service which he had rendered to literature and science, was, when he had completed the last edition of the Cyclopædia, unanimously elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In conformity to the public wishes which have been long and loudly expressed, Dr. Rees is now fully engaged in preparing a new edition of the great English Cyclopædia. This work, we have been told, though formed upon the same plan as the last, will be found to be rather a new work than a new edition. The most competent writers and the most ingenious artists are engaged to complete the new Cyclopædia. We have heard in connexion with this work the names of the most celebrated authors in Chemistry, Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy, Agriculture, Music, Statuary, &c.; but the proprietors not having formally announced them, we do not think we should be justified in anticipating the public expectation.

MR. ARTHUR YOUNG,

SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE, &c. &c.

ARE the memoirs of men, who have stood forth conspicuous to the public view, to be drawn up and sent abroad for the mere gratification of an idle curiosity on one hand, or of a puerile and selfish vanity on the other, rather than for the more noble purposes of general information, and of directing the plaudits and patronage of the public towards the modest possessors of virtue and useful talents? We trust the information, as well as amusement, to be found in these volumes, will prove a satisfactory answer to this question. But as the chief merit and utility of this species of composition consists in the strictest attention to impartial and discriminating truth, it is necessary to awaken congenial sentiments in the mind of the reader, and in the mind also of him who is honoured with the enviable distinction of biographical notice. The latter, in particular, should for a moment assume the biographer's difficult place; should set about convincing himself, that it is beyond the lot of the most exalted of mortals to attain a state of perfection, or be independent of the advantages of good counsel; should accept, with a manly and rational satisfaction, the due commendation of his merits and his virtues, and receive, with the mild forbearance of a philosopher, the correction of his errors. To be enabled to do justice to the laudable curiosity of a contemporary public, and con-

vey information to posterity, it is necessary that the writer be void of all fear, but that of trespassing against the law, against the established rules of decorum, and against truth. Under impressions like these, and not without a proper share of timidity and distrust, we pretend to give a summary sketch of the life and writings of one of the most deservedly eminent, most able, and most useful men which the present age has produced.

Arthur Young, according to his own account, published in the Annals of Agriculture, was born at Bradfield Hall in Suffolk, the paternal estate, consisting of about 200 acres of land, on which the family had resided nearly two centuries, and which, until the days of his father, was their only dependance. He himself was a younger son, and according to report being intended for commerce, was apprenticed in early life to a wine-merchant at Lynn in Norfolk. The truth of this report is immaterial, but being granted, there is little doubt of its having been the consequence of a common family arrangement, to which the younger children are obliged to submit, and which, however promising in respect to the future fortune, was probably very little agreeable to the inclinations of our true-bred farmer. During this engagement, to whatever term it may have extended, it is fair to suppose that the young clerk's leisure was employed in those studies which laid the foundation of that celebrity in life which he has since attained.

About the year 1761 we find Mr. Young's mer-

cantile concerns, if in reality such ever existed, at a conclusion, and that he had exchanged the counting-house for a more congenial sphere—the cultured field; we accordingly find him farming Bradfield Hall for the family. Here it will not be wondered at by the experienced, that he had after a while to lament heavy losses and disappointments, although a more common practical man would have cultivated the same land to considerable advantage. Young, eager and totally ignorant, excepting probably of theories, which he was not yet of an age properly to digest, he plunged headlong into a course of costly experiments, choosing at the same time the most infallible method that could possibly be devised of counteracting his proposed ends: the entrusting them to the honesty and practical skill of a common bailiff. These failures, and certain others which have occurred in the course of his life, may not improbably have given a bias, in a certain degree erroneous, even to the strong mind of Mr. Young. Injudicious management, and consequent losses, produced family disputes, which in a few years were ended by the prudent intervention of a mother, of whom Mr. Young ever speaks in terms which do equal honour to her character, and his own gratitude and filial duty: the event was separation, and his removal from Bradfield.

Happily for the agriculture of this country, and indeed of the European world, the mind of Arthur Young was too steady in its favourite pursuit, and too confident of its own powers, to be deterred by

this unfortunate beginning. His candour has convinced us, that he was not blind to his own errors, and his good sense pointed out to him the road by which he was to retrieve them. As a second attempt in that which had now become his profession, he hired a farm in the neighbouring county of Essex, known by the name of Sampford Hall; but here a circumstance of a truly unfortunate kind attended him: he was prevented from taking possession of his new bargain by being disappointed of a promised loan of money, and ultimately obliged to forfeit his agreement. This was unlucky, for Essex, from the natural fertility of its soil, from the ease, and consequently small expence, with which its rich and light loams may be cultivated, and from its proximity to the metropolis, is one of those counties where the farming business may be reckoned more secure and advantageous than most others in Great Britain, and the farmers of that happy district, while viewing their less fortunate brethren, the cultivators of harsh and ungenial soils, may truly and feelingly exclaim, *Oh! fœlices, bona si sua norint!*

Undismayed, and, instead of being wholly discouraged, rather stimulated to new exertions by this second disappointment, Mr. Young determined to travel in search of a proper spot on which he might commence business with a probable chance of advantage. If this expedition was not successful in its professed aim, he however received ample amends in another point of view, which probably had not before opened upon his mind, but which has since proved

proved the grand mean of his utility to his country, and the basis on which he built his own reputation. It was in the course of these journies that he formed the plan of making an agricultural survey of England, which he afterwards so ably accomplished in his future tours.

The farm which he fixed upon at last was situated in Hertfordshire, near North Mimms, and it appears that it repaid him for nine years cultivation with little else than experience and loss. It was not the kind of soil where, with the best culture, money could be obtained in immoderate profusion; more especially under the management of a warm-headed, professed, and as yet insufficiently seasoned experimenter.

The experiments made at North Mimms, some useful and curious, others of a different stamp, and of but little account at this time of day, have been long since published and appreciated.

The experience of nine seasons having convinced our inquisitive farmer that he had already lost money enough, quitting his Hertfordshire concerns, he retired once more to his paternal home, Bradfield Hall, which has been ever since, and probably will continue to be to the last, his country residence. His excellent mother dying soon after, he came into possession as heir to the estate, and that independence on the uncertain chances of life, so congenial with his laudable ambition, and so necessary to his views, was at once and for ever established.

It is now that we are to begin to view Mr. Young in a somewhat different light. From the recent

change in his circumstances he seems to have meditated, and actually put in practice, a change in his plan of life. We are no longer to consider him either as farming for his subsistence, or as much engaged in experiments, at least on his own account. The plan of his tours, as has been observed, was already laid, and the very extensive circulation obtained by his writings, both at home and upon the continent, gave him the highest degree of encouragement to persevere in a course so beneficial to the country, and so full of credit and probable future emolument to himself. Mr. Young had now become a successful author, and had begun to reap the most solid advantages from that too generally precarious profession. He undoubtedly humoured his own ambitious inclinations more, and probably thought he could serve the cause of agriculture and his country better, by an actual survey, and by pointing out the most prominent errors, and recommending the most advantageous practice, through the grand and effectual medium of the press, than by his own solitary example, fixed to one confined spot. But we shall form the best judgment of his views from his own description of them.

"It is very surprising to think of the general advantages enjoyed by this nation, and yet to see what large tracts (much the greatest part of the kingdom) are under a culture infinitely inferior to that of other parts. After viewing the husbandry of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent, to observe the miserable management of so many other counties, must convince every spectator of the importance of spreading the knowledge of what is good; of letting the unenlightened parts of the kingdom know what is done elsewhere;

elsewhere; and explaining to them the principles and practice which give wealth to one set of farmers, and mediocrity of fortune to others. This idea urged me to undertake the tours I made through a part of the kingdom, the registers of which are before the public.

"The improvements which are much wanting in so many parts of England, are, particularly, the spreading the knowledge of good courses of crops, so as utterly to banish fallows, a practice pursued very generally in the counties I have named above; and which is effected by the introduction of turnips, beans, peas, tares, clover, &c. as preparations for white corn; covered drains; manuring with marle, chalk, and clay; watering meadows; the culture of carrots, cabbages, potatoes, saintfoin, and lucern; performing works of tillage with no more cattle than necessary; the use of oxen in harness; an almost general reform in implements; the introduction of the drill husbandry for beans; the culture of madder, woad, liquorice, hemp, and flax, on such lands as are suitable; with several other points too tedious to mention.

"But above these and all other circumstances is to be named, the bringing into culture our waste lands, which form so large a proportion of the territory, that I much question if we have not eight or ten millions of acres waste in England, and a great deal more in Scotland. The want of public spirit in the generality of their proprietors is truly amazing; and no less is it surprising, that they should be equally inattentive to the advantages of themselves and families. Where would be the mighty exertion in one of our great owners of moors, to say to a spirited practical man, "You have the knowledge necessary for making a trial of my "moors, but not the money: I have the money, but not the "knowledge: fix upon what spot you please in my estate, and I "will supply you with a thousand pounds a year, for ten years "to come, at common interest, and all the security I ask is being convinced that the money is spent upon the land." Where would be the hazard in such a case? for such a person would have the best security for his money of all others, his own estate; and he would certainly have double interest, the common, and

the advantage of all the improvements at the end of the term of years agreed for.

"That there are many active practical persons, not visionary theorists, who would settle the moors upon such conditions, I have no doubt; and that the great moor-possessors in general, proceeding on such principles, would in no long term cover them with cultivation, I have as little doubt. How much this would add to a nation's wealth I need not say. Such undertakings increase the classes of the people that form real POPULATION."

Polit. Arith. Nicoll, 1774.

During the years 1776, 1777, 1778, and 1779, he performed his celebrated tours in Ireland, since published. The fame of this great apostle of husbandry having been so widely diffused, no wonder that he attracted the notice of the whole body of landed proprietors, and that Lord Kingsborough should avail himself of the abilities of Mr. Young, who remained upwards of a twelvemonth in the county of Cork, arranging and leasing out a considerable part of his lordship's estate.

In the year 1784 commenced the well-known "Annals of Agriculture," published in monthly numbers, which have been uninterruptedly continued to the present time. In this voluminous work the author has given, according to his original proposal, his own opinions and practice, joined with those of many of the ablest cultivators in the country, upon almost every possible agricultural topic, with an occasional introduction of the subjects of political economy, commerce, finance, and their various corelatives.

It is very probable, that the idea of making an actual survey of the territory of France had been long brooding

brooding in the mind of Mr. Young, and that it was first called forth into action by the presence of some French gentlemen, who had visited England with the view of inspecting our rural economy. In effect, he accepted the invitation of M. Lazowski and the Duke de la Rochefoucault to accompany them in a journey to the Pyrenees. This first excursion to France took place in the year 1787, and Mr. Young returned to London in the winter, in order to be present at the discussion on the subject of the Wool-bill then before Parliament, a national object, in which he zealously interested himself. His last tour was made in 1789, which completed his travels in France, and the account he has since published of that country stands unrivalled in respect to important and useful information.

The intermediate space between this period and the date of his appointment as Secretary to the Board of Agriculture was filled up, as has been the whole life of Mr. Young, in pursuits of the most useful nature to his country and to mankind. He was engaged either upon his own farm, or in making practical observations in various parts of Great Britain: we indeed possess the best proof in his publications how completely his time must have been occupied; and if we have to regret that, about this period, he became for some time the victim of a very serious indisposition, superinduced by fatigue and exertion, and in some measure also perhaps by chagrin, we may console ourselves with the satisfaction of reflecting,

how small a portion of so valuable a life has been withdrawn from the public service.

Nothing could be more contrary to fact, or more truly calumnious, than the corrupt motives assigned to Arthur Young's acceptance of the Secretaryship of the Board of Agriculture. The propagators of that calumny neither knew the man, nor the history of the transaction. Sir John Sinclair, in one of the volumes of Communications to the Board, has said enough to impress every candid mind with the conviction, that the post of Secretary, with its salary of six hundred pounds *per ann.* was not the gift of ministers, but the boon of private friendship. The country is indebted to the patriotic exertions of Sir John for the establishment of this excellent institution; but so convinced was Mr. Young of the fruitlessness of the efforts in his favour, that while the affair remained in suspense he offered to stake a set of the Annals of Agriculture against a set of the Statistical Account of Scotland (a fair and appropriate wager between two literary men) on the event.

In his answer to a letter from Sir John Sinclair, assuring him, that in consequence of an appointment with Mr. Pitt he might expect to lose his bet, of a set of the "Annals" against a set of the "Statistical Account of Scotland," and that he had better send them to the binder's, Mr. A. Young wrote as follows:—"You are going to Mr. Pitt, and I am to lose the wager; when you come from Mr. Pitt, I shall have won it. Pray don't give ministers more credit than they deserve. In manufactures and commerce

merce you may bet securely, but they never did and never will do any thing for the plough. Your Board of Agriculture will be in the moon. If on earth, remember I am to be Secretary." The whole of this transaction is extremely honourable to both parties, and the relation of it affords a feast to liberal and sensible minds.

We now find Mr. Young truly in his element, conducting the business of a board instituted expressly for the purpose of extending and improving his constant and favourite object, the national agriculture. The office of President to this board has been in the hands of two men of distinguished eminence as agriculturists, to wit, Sir John Sinclair and Lord Somerville; the latter, particularly, a great *amateur*, and thoroughly practical: it is nevertheless natural to suppose, that the advice and the plans of the Secretary have been generally adopted, and that upon his long experience and sedulous exertions the chief dependence has been placed. The illiberal and abrupt dismissal of the first President, merely on account of his political moderation, and the independence of his mind, remains on record, as an addition to the innumerable instances of vindictive, paltry, and contemptible meannesses, and as an eternal stigma, as well as a prominent feature, in the character of those who *commanded* it. The patriotic author of the Statistical Account of Scotland, the man who, throwing the interests of his private fortune into the second place, bent the whole of his endeavours to the advancement of the general agri-

culture

culture of his country, surely merited a return of a different kind.

The conduct of this board, or more properly that of its two or three leading members, has been now some years before the tribunal of public judgment; and as its exertions openly and publicly speak for themselves, in a great increase of agricultural information and practice, the institution may fairly and impartially be pronounced to have answered its original intent, and to have deserved well of the country. The objections brought forward against the board may perhaps be found to have operated in its favour; they have not been of any great weight, and the very making them shews that the public right of examination has not been neglected. The chief objections seem to have been, that too much money has been thrown away in expensive publications, useless, from their high price, except to very few of the farming class; that the mode of publishing a low-priced practical guide in husbandry has not been adopted; and that the board surveys of the different counties have been made in too short and cursory a manner to be of much essential use. But it ought to be remembered, that such surveys, to be of immediate advantage (the great object), must be made with dispatch, and that the end has been answered appears from incontrovertible facts. With respect to a general practical treatise on farming, there might probably exist good reasons for relinquishing the task to individual exertions; and these reasons seem to have been countenanced by the subsequent

sequent appearance of the New Farmer's Calendar, a publication which has probably made its way more successfully amongst the class of tenantry than any of former date. The book appears to have been written by some friend or disciple of Mr. Young, although the author is far enough removed from an implicit submission to his authority: it is particularly valued for original and systematic ideas on live stock, and has made a successful stand against the ostentatious and wasteful folly of over-fattening cattle, and the fundamental error of the Bakewellian form.

As has been already noted, Mr. Young has continued, from the first, to take a principal and active share in all the transactions of the Board of Agriculture, independently of the mere duties of its Secretary. He has personally made and published an account of the survey of the two counties of Suffolk and Lincoln; also of the waste lands in various parts of England, on the authority of the board; besides certain private agricultural journies and tours, of which we have an account in his "Annals:" that useful work has at the same time been regularly continued; and Mr. Young has also, amidst his numerous avocations, found leisure frequently to address the public on various important subjects.

There can be no doubt but that, in the necessary intercourse of business between the members of the executive government, or certain of its confidential assistants, and this board, the advice and opinion of the Secretary have been generally respected; and it was obviously in consequence of this that our agricultural

cultural Secretary became enabled to gratify his ambition, and deviate from that honourable, secure, and useful line in which his veteran services have covered him with laurels, in order to launch his inexperienced bark on the troubled and uncertain ocean of politics, where, in the opinion of many persons of reflection, too considerable a share of his former well-earned reputation has been already shipwrecked. His political pamphlets, authoritatively circulated, leave no room for doubt as to the grounds of the former part of the proposition, and the nature of the subjects themselves seem to confirm the latter.

The attention of the Board of Agriculture has been directed to almost every useful object of rural economy, and to those more especially in which there has appeared a deficiency in the national practice: on these heads the usual channel of communication with the public has been through Mr. Young's Annals, which, since his accession to the Secretaryship, may be looked upon as in some measure *official.* The mode of premiums has been adopted, and it seems the only mean of stimulating public indolence to a deviation from the beaten track into the field of promising experiment. The extension of the breed of fine-wooled sheep upon all suitable soils, for the truly national purpose of ridding ourselves of a precarious dependence on Spain for that precious commodity, and the general substitution of labouring oxen, which in the end become food for man, and are the harbingers of plenty in the place of horses, which after their labour produce food only for dogs, and become

become in themselves one great permanent cause of scarcity, are among the chief objects of solicitude with the board, and indeed with all well-wishers to our national prosperity. The Royal Husbandman has proved, by eminent examples upon a large scale, the benefits to be derived from the adoption of this new practice; and the noble Shepherd and Economist, Somerville, has evinced its truth, not only in theory, with his elegant and perspicuous pen, but in the active and steady pursuit of real business. The cultivators and wool-growers, who are desirous of a practical lesson on these topics, may assure themselves of finding it much to their advantage, both at Windsor and Fitzhead.

Mr. Young, who has been writing all his life to urge our breeders to every possible improvement of the form and size of their cattle, has no doubt been principally instrumental in the establishment of many of the existing cattle-societies. If it be granted, that certain objections may be made to the plans and conduct of these associations, it must yet also be conceded, that they have been generally beneficial, in stirring up emulation amongst the farmers of most counties, and that, in the course of time, the apparent obstacles may give way, and the proposed intent of such meetings be fully answered in the general improvement of our live stock.

From the commencement of the present unfortunate scarcity, and consequent unprecedented high price of all the necessaries of life, which it is now too late to deny has been chiefly occasioned by a war, so

so materially different to all others in which our nation has ever been engaged, in length, in variety and extent of operation, the Secretary to the board has been laudably and intensely employed in making the needful inquiries, and in devising the best temporary expedients to obviate so great a calamity. In these earnest endeavours for the public service he has experienced much petulant opposition from persons in whom, how accurate soever their information in their own bounded circle might be, it was a monstrous conceit to suppose themselves on a level, in this respect, with Arthur Young, standing too on the *vantage ground* of his public, official situation. Of the existence of real scarcity Mr. Young pointed out unanswerable proofs, and with much correctness as to its dates. His predicted calculations were equally accurate, and the writer of these pages has reason to be assured, on an authority rendered credible to him by the experience of many years, that at this moment (August 1801) there not only exists a real scarcity of old English wheat, but also of both store and fat cattle. It has been a general observation at Smithfield, that for a number of market days past the cattle exposed to sale were not properly fed, and of lambs, in particular, it was difficult to obtain any which had been brought to a tolerable degree of ripeness. In the mean time, the quantity of feed has been superabundant, and no one can suppose a want of capital in our graziers; but the truth is, that an adequate number of stores cannot be obtained for any money: such is also particularly the case with respect to pigs.

 What

What can be more truly demonstrative of the immensity of our consumption than this anticipation of our stock, and the consequent compulsion to give such a decided preference to the feeding over the breeding system? Nothing can be more clear than that we have been for some years exceeding the rate of consumption fairly apportioned to our population in times of peace.

To the grand temporary and permanent remedies for scarcity, independently of the question of war or peace, proposed by Mr. Young in his writings, it seems almost impossible to make any solid objection. The introduction of a bill to facilitate the general culture of our waste lands would surely go to the root of the evil; and Mr. Young has repeatedly shewn, to demonstration, that, from the necessary slow progress of rural improvements, no sudden or disproportionate depreciation of the products of the soil need be apprehended; yet no reflecting man can be so blind as not to discern this low-spirited and jealous apprehension. How was it during the scarcity of 1795? Upon the press of the occasion, and whilst the popular clamour was at its height, a general inclosure bill was produced, gravely debated, and conducted step by step to a certain point, when behold some persons start up with objections till then unforeseen, and the important bill is sent to Coventry, or somewhere else, for regeneration; because by this time the ebullitions of popular clamour was nearly spent, and the constitutional apathy of the nation had revived on the near prospect of a good crop.

Repetitur

Repetitur haustus in 1800; and in the next scarcity, *and not till then*, we shall have the same prescription.

There is one method of saving recommended in the Secretary's pamphlet on the scarcity, which appears neither to be judicious nor humane, and this is the last country in which such a regulation would be adopted. It was to abridge the poor horses, whose labour among us is so peculiarly severe, of that nourishment which must support their strength! Happily we have not arrived at the period of eating our horses for food, nor would it be at all to our profit to defraud them of their due allowance. The recommendation of the use of rice, during both periods of scarcity, was made on the best grounds. In 1795 sufficient public warnings were given of the strong probability of another failure, supposing the continuance of the war; and the securing an ample quantity of rice, in case of need, was strenuously recommended. That the poor have been without such a support in their dreadful necessity, and that rice is at a higher price than two-pence per pound at this moment, argues a great neglect somewhere. The scheme of cultivating such an immense crop of potatoes, to speak within compass, at least fifty times the quantity ever before planted in this country in one season, will no doubt prove a successful expedient for raising a vast temporary supply of a certain species of aliment. It is not improbable, however, that the mark may be overshot, and that a portion fully adequate to the demand might have been obtained by general recommendations, and the mere

incitement

incitement produced by the high price. It must not be forgotten, that most of these potatoe grounds would have been sown with some kind of corn, and that the bread of even an inferior species of corn is far superior in nutriment to the best potatoes.

But the affair in which Mr. Young's attention has been for some time, and is still most fervently engaged, is, much to the credit of his humanity, an attempt to obtain an allowance of land, with certain other advantages, to the oppressed labourers in husbandry. The measure is, no doubt, a humane and good palliative, and will in some districts answer almost every requisite intention; in others it will be found totally inadequate. The reasonings and calculations on this our author's favourite subject are given with his usual acumen in the Annals of Agriculture, and in his late pamphlet.

In the former parts of Mr. Young's writings we find a querulous and even dissatisfied spirit at the little patronage and support he experienced from his native country, to the service of which he had dedicated the whole of his time and his private fortune. He alluded particularly to the small encouragement given to the Annals of Agriculture,* by which publication it may be presumed he really at that time lost money. It is granted his treatment by that great and opulent body, to whom and to their posterity he was rendering such essential services, no way accorded with his high desert; but he might, even then, as a philosopher, have made many advantageous comparisons of his own situation, independent, respected at home and throughout Europe, assured of a niche in the

temple of Fame, with that of the unfortunate man of genius and benefactor of his country, condemned by the rigours of his destiny, and the churlish ingratitude and jealousy of mankind, to unavailing toil in the back ground of life, and a countless variety of heart-breaking miseries attached to dependence and want.

But however just may have been his former reasons for dissatisfaction and repining, there can have been of late no room for such sentiments in his breast. If any man can be pronounced happy from external circumstances, surely this is the man. What if the country has not attached a splendid reward to his services? Could even boundless opulence have added to his happiness or his fame? To his own patrimonial independence he joins a respectable salary from government, enhanced by elegant and capacious apartments as a town residence. He possesses great influence, and with a heart expanding to the pleasing prospect, he daily contemplates the end of his long labours in the approaching perfection of the agriculture of his country. His state of health is such as, after long-continued mental exertions, ought to be perfectly satisfactory to himself, and the wise and not unpleasing task now remains, of studying and practising the art of *sustaining aged and feeble life*. He is blessed in his domestic as well as in a long list of splendid and friendly connexions; an amiable and respectable wife yet remains to him, with children and children's children. He defies the grave in his fame and his posterity.

There

There yet remains another source of ineffable mental satisfaction to Mr. Young, in the retrospect of a long and well spent life. His unwearied industry from his very youth in the acquisition of useful knowledge, and his zealous eagerness of public communication, transcend all praise. Amidst very active exertions, he had the diligence to make himself sufficiently master of the French and Italian languages, to correspond with the *literati* of those countries, and with the societies of which he had became an honorary member; and to be able to consult in the originals, the best foreign books of information. His works afford a most creditable proof of his extensive acquaintance with useful publications, and his entire exemption both from the need and the meanness of plagiarism.

Mr. Young pretends not to the merit of original discovery, either in respect to new practices, new implements, new vegetables, or new varieties of animals. Tull and Ellis, and the most eminent rural philosophers of the continent, had preceded him; and their theories which Young has taught, and their practices which he has inculcated, were known long before his days, although they prevailed within a very narrow circle: it has been his great merit to recommend and universally spread them, to prove their truth and utility by actual experiments of his own, and even his enemies must acknowledge how great a mass of our improvements, and how much of that agricultural *rage* which has for years past prevailed in this country,

has been owing to the unceasing and enthusiastic exertions of this patriotic individual.

It remains to glance at the opposition which Mr. Young has, to the surprize of many enlightened cultivators of the earth, ever made to that system, surely approaching nearest to perfection in all respects, commonly styled the *drill husbandry*. He is even accused of something like prevarication on this head; and it is pretended that his pride now operates against his conviction, for having constantly in his writings and discourse decried drilling, he is ashamed to retract his error. A public explanation is probably wanting on this important topic, from himself as a public man. His objections to the drill system may be seen in No. 133. p. 508. Annals of Agriculture, all which are fairly overturned in the subsequent account of his last journey to the west, and of his Lincolnshire survey. The *argumentum ad indolentiam* comes with an extreme ill grace from Mr. Young, nor will the authority of his late right hon. friend Edmund Burke much advance his cause with people in the habits of reflection.

The present may be as proper a place as any other to present the reader with some account of Arthur Young's works; for himself only can give a compleat one, many of them being anonymous, and written several years ago, on the spur of particular public occasions. He no doubt gave a correct list to those members of the institute, who some few years past applied for that end, in order to a complete translation of his numerous works into the French language: an application

application eminently honourable to both parties, and particularly so to the liberality of the French nation, since Mr. Young had then written his political pamphlets. The most important of his publications will be found in the following catalogue:

A Six Months Tour through the North of England.

A Six Weeks Tour through the South of England.

The Farmer's Tour through the East of England. The above in 9 vols. 8vo. containing the then state of the Agriculture of the kingdom, with its objects and proposed improvements. Experiments communicated to the author. Plates of newly-invented and improved implements. Prices of labour and provisions, state of the poor, population, industry, manufactures, &c. with descriptions of the seats of the nobility and gentry, with other curious objects.

The Farmer's Letters to the People [illegible], 2 vols. containing miscellaneous observations on the [illegible] of estates, and on the national protection and encourage[illegible] ulture.

The Farmer's Guide in Hiring and Stocking [illegible] h plans of farm-yards and sections of necessary buildings [illegible] vo.

Various Prize Essays which obtained the [illegible], viz.

An Essay on the management of Hogs, includ[illegible] periments on rearing and fattening them.

An Essay on the Culture of Coleseed for feed[illegible] Sheep and Cattle, including experiments.

The Expediency of a Free Exportation of Corn, with some observations on the bounty and its effects.

Proposals to the Legislature for Numbering the People; containing some observations on the population of Great Britain, and a sketch of the advantages that would probably accrue from an exact knowledge of its present state.

Observations on the present state of the Waste Lands in this Kingdom.

Rural Œconomy, 1 vol. 8vo.

A Course of Experimental Agriculture; being the register of near 2000 original experiments, in 2 vols. quarto.

 Political

Political Arithmetic, or Observations on the present State of Great Britain, and the Principles of her Policy respecting Agriculture; addressed to the œconomical societies of Europe, with Governor Pownal's memoir on the Corn Trade. All the above were published previously to 1775, by Nicholl, Cadell, &c.

The Farmer's Kalendar, with monthly directions.

A Tour in Ireland, giving a full account of the rural, manufacturing, and commercial œconomy and present state, &c. of that country.

The Annals of Agriculture, first published in 1784, and now making 36 vols. This work is continued in monthly numbers, and contains a journal of the transactions, bounties, and premiums of the principal agricultural societies in Great Britain. Registers of the prices of corn, and other commodities. Farming news. Experiments in Agriculture. Tours in Spain, and at home. Politics. Bills passing in Parliament relative thereto. Accounts of foreign husbandry, &c. Statistical papers. With above 100 plates of implements, &c.

Travels in France in 1787-8-9.

Various Political Pamphlets: Example of France a Warning to Britain; Idea on the State of France; Constitution safe without Reform, &c.

Agricultural Survey of the County of Suffolk.

——————————— Lincoln.

The Question of Scarcity plainly stated, and Remedies considered, 1800.

An Enquiry into the Propriety of applying the Wastes of the Kingdom to the better Support of the Poor; with remarkable cases shewing the great effects which have attended their possessing property in land and live stock, in keeping them free of parish relief, even in the present scarcity.

Were not the works of Ellis abridged and methodized by the indefatigable hand of Mr. Young? the Preface seems to speak his style and sentiments.

In this very long list of the works of our author, it is not possible that all can be of equal excellence or

or public use; but it may be most securely averred (with the exception of the political pieces) that there is not a single publication unworthy of public attention. On the "Tours," the great reputation of the author is chiefly founded; and the account of Ireland particularly helped to spread his fame throughout Europe: at home that work was also received with great avidity, and parliament immediately adopting his advice, 40,000l. per annum was saved to the public, in the bounty on the inland carriage of corn.

Critical cavils have been made at the descriptions of country seats in the Tours, as not appertaining to the professed subject. In this, however, Mr. Young perhaps has judged better than his critics. Objections also have been started to the authenticity of certain accounts of farming practice, which it has been alleged were given purposely to deceive the author, but that being granted, it is no impeachment of the general excellence of the books. A little anecdote claims a place here. Among his critics, it is the fortune of Mr. Young to reckon a certain good-natured, but passionate surveyor. This gentleman, who thinks he was not well used in the rejection of a survey of the county of Lincoln which he had made, by order of the Board of Agriculture, published an answer to t. survey by Mr. Young. Now it came out collaterally in a Westminster Hall squabble, between an author and his publisher, that the said author, a reputable dealer and vender of the finer kind of wares of Paternoster Row, had actually received the sum of five pounds five shillings of Mr. Young's

antagonist, for revising, correcting, amending, and heightening the colours of his MS. previous to publication! The clubbed wits of these gentlemen, as it turned out, were exerted to prove two things; one of which was, how little could be said against Young's General View of the Agriculture of Lincoln.

But the objection urged against certain of Mr. Young's early publications, is in some degree founded; he has no doubt, prompted by his enthusiasm rather than by any desire to mislead, exhibited too flattering a prospect of the profits of farmers, an error of which he has long since steered clear. He has complained with great reason of the shameful pillage which has been made of his works; but in truth, mere compilers out of question, it could not fall to the lot of the ordinary writers on husbandry, to be able to touch on any thing which had not been previously known and thoroughly handled by Arthur Young.

Mr. Young is one of our most expeditious writers, and such indeed he ought to be, considering his occupation; he seldom takes any other pains with his compositions than merely to render them perspicuous, in which he invariably succeeds: some parts of his works are however distinguished by a rough and boisterous species of eloquence.

In the annals of agriculture may be found the true state of the wool question, a monopoly which has so long disgraced the common sense, and retarded the interests of this country. In this work also Arthur Young has acquired honor, by giving his decided

vote against trading in African blood: "*that infamy of all infamies, the most damnable, and passing all expression; with which the punishment of tearing up by the roots all human society would be barely commensurate, and in comparison of which, the late horrors at Domingo were but as a point to infinity. That wickedness, with which all forbearance and compromise is a crime of deep and crimson dye; and which, rather than tolerate upon the earth, it is the bounden duty of every man of honor and honesty to resolve to perish.*"

The reader, at this period, will not fail to note in the list of Mr. Young's publications, his attention so many years ago to those interesting national subjects, the necessity of numbering the people, and the state of the waste lands.

Mr. Young's merit as a political arithmetician, will best appear from a view of his book on that subject, from the principles of which, although written nearly thirty years ago, he has not seen reason to deviate: the treatise is desultory, and without any pretence to scientific arrangement, but comprises nearly all the material heads. His great object in this work is the forwarding almost *per fas and nefas*, the interests and progress of agriculture, for which, to speak impartially, he in consequence of his excessive zeal, too often degenerates into the meer *special pleader*. His sole view is invariably to secure opulence to the farmer, to forward which end, he never scruples the means of legislative interference and support, although no one is more ready to decry the meddling of governments, when it appears to thwart his intentions. A

more

more general and philosophical view of this question would have informed him, that a nation is rather interested in an ample and reasonable supply of the *necessaries* of life, than in the opulence of those who provide them; that uncontrouled liberty would assure both ends, but that any partiality or favour bestowed upon one party, must surely be at the expence of the other; a perversion of the very ends of government. But our author sees no other legitimate end in human government, than an exclusive advancement of the interests and prosperity of an aristocracy of property, with whom the great majority of mankind, the real strength and support of the world, are but as a feather in the balance. Mr. Young, who evinces great feeling in many parts of his writings, and who desires to ease the sufferings of the labourer, provided that can be done, in a certain unobjectional way, not otherwise; can write and think coolly about the discontents of the mob, and the complaints of rioters, who insist on wheat being cheap, according to him, "that they may afford *dear* sugar, tea, brandy, and strong beer; and be able to consume four times as much of those commodities as their more frugal ancestors did." Has he forgotten with what exultation he wrote of the superior consumption of his farmers over that of their ancestors, of the benefits of luxury, and of the injustice and folly of restraint? but these must, it seems, "be hewers of wood and drawers of water," excluded from the scheme and the benefits of the social contract!

The work nevertheless contains much useful matter,

ter, contrasted however with inconclusive and even futile reasoning. It is a strange oversight to call (p. 11.) the poors-rate a direct burden on the farmers; when nothing can be more clear than the truth, that this ever has been a legislative premium or bounty on farming. In his answers to the ridiculous croakers against luxury, inclosures, and great farms, and on the subject of our population, the author is particularly happy, and his reasonings are entirely sufficient to silence also the croakers of the present day, had they any principle in common with reason or logic. His desire of a communication of intelligence with the enlightened men of foreign countries, is liberal and philanthropic; as far as he adopts the ideas of the celebrated œconomists of France, he stands on firm ground, he even succeeds in correcting some of their errors derived from oversight or prejudice, but wherever he attempts to oppose their general *phisiocratic* principles, originating in the simple *dicta* of nature and reason, he instantly falls (not from too little strength of reason, but too great strength of system) into the most absurd and even laughable sophistry.

On the phisiocratic or simple management of the fiscal department, which evidently points to direct taxation, or the imposition of all taxes united on one head, either of persons, land, or houses, in opposition to the indirect or circuitous, which imposes it on the various articles of consumption, Mr. Young makes his chief stand. In respect to this subject as of all others, he evinces himself rather versed in practice than

than principle. Like Mr. Burke, and indeed like the majority of every age and nation, lettered or unlettered, he declares for the world as it is, not as it ought to be. It is better it seems to be continually patching a rotten edifice until it fall down without warning, rather than be at the trouble and charge of a new foundation; "because the fall may not happen in our day, and according to the most approved calculations the chance is in our favour." That such notable doctrine is not always infallible, the late ingenious calculators of France and St. Domingo experienced somewhat to their cost.

Mr. Young does not appear always (from haste probably) to have comprehended the nature and full scope of the phisiocratic scheme, and there is much question whether his sending the French œconomists to school to Locke and Decker, ought not to be referred to a common but not over modest practice of our English writers. A certain right reverend polemic has made the French atheists indebted for their infidelity and their arguments, to the infidel writers of our own country. Pity that his Lordship could not have sent Rabelais, Des Cartes, Vanini, and Bayle, to school to Toland, Chubbe, Woolston, and Morgan.

This book of political arithmetic contains with much curious matter, a list (p. 209) of the most celebrated French writers of the œconomical class, who about forty or fifty years ago excited so much attention throughout Europe. A close examination of those authors will be of the utmost use; in fact, is absolutely necessary to such whose object it is to attain

tain a fundamental insight into the science of which they treat: to those who have acquired this knowledge, it will immediately appear in what manner Sir James Stuart has compiled the œconomists and Sir Matthew Decker. The following quotation will be estimated by our country gentlemen, for whose use particularly it is here transcribed as not one of the least curiosities of the book, and most readers will feel that it is by no means out of season yet. "Such a supposition (as a reduction of taxes) is extremely impolitic; it is so contrary to the particular interest of the crown, that there is an absurdity in supposing it will ever be thought of, consequently to connect the circumstance of *payment of debt*, with reduction of taxes, is to raise a prejudice against the whole: indeed the two circumstances are abundantly different; payment of debt strikes one as highly necessary, but as to a necessity of lowering the taxes, I see none; nor do I think any good would flow from it, except in a very few instances, which might easily be changed without any reduction. The object of freeing a part of the national income from incumbrances, in order for other applications, is a much more necessary and obvious work than the reduction of taxes. p. 299."

It has been said somewhere in print, that previously to Mr. Young's tours in France we knew nothing of that country, however near it is. Without going such a length, we may safely aver, that Mr. Young's is the best statistical account of France, its manners, national character, productions and capabilities of improvement, which is to be found in any language.

language. Probably there is but little risk in the assertion, that no other man in Europe was equal to the task of such a work. By this publication the most sceptical may be convinced with what immense intrinsic powers nature had endowed that country, although its wretched government, like a beast with respect to its own strength, seemed totally unconscious of it. Mr. Young has also contributed to overturn many of those prejudices respecting the French, and foreigners in general, which were formerly so derogatory to our national character, ever too much inclined to vain glory. John Bull must no longer vaunt of being the exclusive possessor of good roast beef, since this travelled farmer and grazier has found the French beef even superior to his own. Mr. Young's characteristic also of the French people (p. 35) will appear in a novel light to many who have drawn their opinions from superficial observation, or from the vulgar herd of writers.

"One circumstance I must remark respecting their numerous *table-d'hôte*, because it has struck me repeatedly, which is the taciturnity of the French. I came to the kingdom expecting to have my ears constantly fatigued with the infinite volubility and spirits of the people, of which so many persons have written, sitting, I suppose, by their English fire-sides. At Montpelier, though fifteen persons, and some of them ladies, were present, I found it impossible to make them break their inflexible silence with more than a monosyllable, and the whole company sat more like an assembly of tongue-tied Quakers than the mixed company of a people famous for loquacity. Here, also, at Nismes, with a different party at every meal, it is the same; not a Frenchman will open his lips. To-day, at dinner, hopeless of that nation, and fearing to lose the use of an organ they had so little inclination to

to employ, I fixed myself by a Spaniard, and having been so lately in his country, I found him ready to converse and tolerably communicative; but we had more conversation than thirty other persons maintained among themselves."

The present writer has often had occasion to make similar remarks. Some of our weighty and profound writers have manifested great contempt for the light and superficial minds of the writers of France, but Warburton, Hume, and Adam Smith, are not of the number. Mr. Young himself (see p. 174) has doubtless, long ere this time, discovered that the French can "combine as well as conceive."

This work, in fine, containing the observations of an acute and penetrating mind upon the characters and views of the great original leaders of the French revolution, will be of the most important use to the future historian, who is emulous of entering deeply into the causes and conduct of that stupendous event. In respect to composition, it is written in the author's best manner, and is highly interesting even as a book of amusement and taste: it forms a good apology for the so often decried fastidiousness of the irritable and generous Smollet.

A remark, in some degree similar to that which has been made on the travels in France, may have place with respect to Mr. Young's tour to the west of England in 1797. Englishmen in general are totally unapprized, that a part of their country possesses a climate of a temperature nearly equal in mildness to that of the south of France, and favourable to the culture of the orange and the vine.

Of Mr. Young's political exertions, or his character as a party man, there is need to say the less, in consequence of certain passages which have since escaped his pen, wherein, if he has not absolutely recanted, he has at least expressed great apparent regret at the unfortunate, and doubtless to him unexpected, turn of public affairs. We hope and trust we may now view him as a real friend "to the world's peace."

The objectionable part of Mr. Young's system is the strange pretence, that although there may be private, there can be no public or political justice; and the denial of the right, or the necessity of reform, of which he advises the repression by a standing armed force. Such is the chief burden of a pamphlet, circulated with so much industry, entitled, "The Example of France a Warning to Britain." One part of this tract, however, is surely deserving of attention, because strictly consonant with truth and fact: it is where the author combats the ridiculous positions of many of our democrates, of the existence of liberty, and even of universal suffrage! in the early periods of what they are pleased to term the English constitution. No problem can be more clear, or capable of geometrical certainty, than that English liberty was at a height absolutely unknown in any former period, during a few years immediately preceding the passing of the two famous bills.

The motto prefixed to this pamphlet by Mr. Young conferred on it no credit. There are things

useful

useful and worthy of preservation merely for their absurdity; in such view this notable extract is transcribed: "It is a certain, though a strange truth, that in politics all principles that are speculatively right are practically wrong; the reason of which is, that they proceed on a supposition that men all act rationally, which being by no means true, all that is built on so false a foundation on experiment falls to the ground." SOAME JENYNS.

That Mr. Young has not enjoyed that popularity which might have been further instrumental to his public services is to be regretted: this is to be attributed to various causes. The high superiority conferred upon him, by great talents and long experience in whatever he professes, and perhaps a tone somewhat too decided and dictatorial, have aroused the jealousy of the half-informed, and excited the scoffs of the ignorant. His open and unreserved manner of declaring his sentiments, and the ardour with which he pursues his aims, have obtained him many enemies. A man does not engage himself earnestly on such subjects as the Slave Trade, the Wool Monopoly, the Tythe and Poor Laws, unmolested and with impunity. But Arthur Young has long and faithfully served his country—MAY HIS ERRORS BE FORGOTTEN, AND HIS SERVICES ONLY BE REMEMBERED!

There is a good portrait of this estimable servant of the public. The character of his features is that of profound reflection, joined with acuteness of in-

tellect, and mixed with somewhat of a saturnine cast. What is not a little remarkable, although the subject of these memoirs is now more than three-score years of age, and for the greater part of his life has frequented the best company, he still retains the lengthened or provincial tone of Suffolk.

THE END.

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